Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-073
Monday
19 April 1993

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-073 *19 April 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Key Points' of UNSC Resolution Cited *[AFP]* 1
Director of Offshore Radio Station Interviewed *[Hilversum Radio]* 1

ALBANIA

Property Law Approved by People's Assembly *[ATA]* 3
Berisha Approves Law *[ATA]* 3
Property Owners Group Protests *[ATA]* 3
North Atlantic Assembly Grants Observer Status *[ATA]* 3
Minister Discusses Construction Sector *[ATA]* 3

BULGARIA

NATO Commander Visits, Meets With Leaders *[BTA]* 4
Assembly Approves EC Association Agreement *[BTA]* 4
EC Commissioner Meets Defense Minister *[Sofia Radio]* 5
EC Commissioner Gives News Conference *[BTA]* 5
Berov Discusses Problems With Businessmen *[BTA]* 5
Berov, Ministers Discuss First 100 Days *[BTA]* 5
Minister Warns Against Intervention in Balkans *[Vienna DER STANDARD]* 6
Berov, Delegation Arrive in Moscow *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Collective Agreement for Engineering Sector Signed *[Sofia TV]* 7
Breakaway Group Registers Rival Agrarian Party *[BTA]* 7
Duty-Free Imports for Power Industry Adopted *[BTA]* 8
Radioactivity After Tomsk Said 'Normal' *[KONTINENT 15 Apr]* 8

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel, Klaus Agree on Federal Property Strategy *[CTK]* 9
Meat Exports Marginal Part of Foreign Trade *[CTK]* 9
Havel Reviews Relations With Slovakia *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 16 Apr]* 9
Foot and Mouth Disease Vaccination Ended in 1991 *[CTK]* 11
KGB Control of Former Bases Suspected *[CTK]* 11
Ministry Investigates Volhynian Czechs *[CTK]* 12

SLOVAKIA

Meciar Interviewed on Trade Union Protest *[Bratislava Radio]* 13
Economic Decline Slows in January *[REPUBLIKA 9 Apr]* 13
Dolgos Dissatisfied With Second Privatization Wave *[CTK]* 15
Hard Currency Reserves Reportedly Dropping *[CTK]* 15
Environmental Agreement Signed With Poland *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
Knazko Reacts to Accusation of Arms Deals *[PRAVDA 10 Apr]* 16

HUNGARY

Finance Minister Comments on IMF *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Croatia's Mesic Urges Action *[Budapest Radio]* 18

POLAND

Czech, German Ministers Discuss Migration *[CTK]* 19
Suchocka Welcomes Israeli Prime Minister *[PAP]* 19
Losses From EC Livestock, Meat Ban Reported *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 14 Apr]* 19
Political Sympathies of South Africa's Poles *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 13 Apr]* 19

ROMANIA

Melescanu Opposed to Armed Intervention in FRY *[Madrid Radio]* 20
EC Official Discusses Cooperation With Iliescu *[ROMPRES]* 20
Meets With Members of Parliament *[ROMPRES]* 20
Authorities Receive U.S. Patrol Boats *[ROMPRES]* 20
Unions Demands Addressed to Government Listed *[ROMANIA LIBERA 13 Apr]* 21
Unions Postpone Strike to 5 May *[ROMPRES]* 21

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Presidency Calls on NATO To 'Neutralize' Aggression *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Cease-Fire Accord Provides for Casualties *[AFP]* 22
Karadzic Threatens Withdrawal From Peace Talks *[AFP]* 23
Expects 'Limited Strike' *[TANJUG]* 23
On Srebrenica Cease-Fire Agreement *[Belgrade Radio]* 24
Will Not Enter Srebrenica *[Belgrade Radio]* 25
Reiterates No Entry Position *[TANJUG]* 25
Hints at Serb-Initiated Peace Plan *[TANJUG]* 25
Ganic Calls For Bombing of Serbian Positions *[Zagreb Radio]* 26
Mladic-Halilovic Meeting at Airport Begins *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Authorities Block Roads Until Wounded Flown Out *[AFP]* 26
UNPROFOR Official Confirms 'Major Offensive' *[AFP]* 26
UNPROFOR Pass Zvornik En Route to Srebrenica *[TANJUG]* 27
Canadians Move Toward Srebrenica *[TANJUG]* 27
UNHCR Convoy Turns Back Despite Assurances *[TANJUG]* 27
Srebrenica Casualties Arrive in Tuzla *[AFP]* 27
B-H Serbs Threaten Withdrawal From Talks *[TANJUG]* 27
Srebrenica Leader Appeals to Clinton *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Serbs Say Muslims Honoring Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 28
Serb Army 'Advancing Toward Travnik' *[Zagreb Radio]* 28
Serbs Said Violating Srebrenica Cease-Fire *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Serbs Blame Muslims for Attack on Srebrenica *[TANJUG]* 29
Serbs Approve Tuzla-Srebrenica Air Bridge *[TANJUG]* 29
Serbs Claim Muslims Renew Attacks *[TANJUG]* 29
Serb Infiltration Attempt Said Thwarted *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Recording Proves Serbs 'Eager' To Enter Srebrenica *[Zagreb TV]* 30
Commander Says Forces Arriving From Croatia *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Serbs, Muslims Agree to Cease-Fire *[AFP]* 30
Muslims Said 'Breaching' Peace To Undermine Talks *[TANJUG]* 31
Further Clashes Between Croats, Muslims Reported *[TANJUG]* 31
Croatians Take Measures To Defend Against Muslims *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Muslims Carry Out Mass Arrests of Croats in Zenica *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Muslims Attack Croat Positions in Zenica *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Muslim, Croat Leaders Agree To End Clashes *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
'Muslims' Reportedly Violating Cease-Fire *[Belgrade Radio]* 32
Croatian, Yugoslav Media Update on Fighting 32

CROATIA

Serbs Open Artillery Fire on Croatian Positions *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Launch Artillery Attack on Gospic *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Government Offers Support for NATO Operations *[TANJUG]* 35
Mesic Urges Bombing of Serbian Airports *[Hamburg DIE WOCHE 15 Apr]* 35

Krajina Minister Says 'Goal' Within Reach *[VECERNJE NOVOSTI 15 Apr]* 35
National Security Council Meets 15 April *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Serbs in Zadar Establish Representative Assembly *[TANJUG]* 37
Krajina Serbs Lose Confidence in UNPROFOR *[TANJUG]* 37
Serbian Krajina Issues Statement on Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 37
HVO's Prlic Leaves Mostar Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Article Reviews Intelligence Service *[GLOBUS 9 Apr]* 38
World Bank Gives First Loan to Croatia *[NOVI LIST 13 Apr]* 40
Croatian Leaders on UNPROFOR Mandate Renewal *[DANAS 26 Mar]* 41
Depositors Suing State for Fraud *[DANAS 26 Mar]* 42

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Emergency Cabinet Session on UN Resolution *[TANJUG]* 45
Foreign Minister Calls UN Sanctions 'Inhumane' *[Pristina TV]* 45
Yugoslavia's Membership in IMF Still Uncertain *[TANJUG]* 45
Data on Proposed Federal Budget *[POLITIKA 18 Mar]* 46
'Brain Drain' of Scientists, Researchers *[BORBA 24 Mar]* 47
Popularity of FRY Politicians *[BORBA 27-28 Mar]* 48
SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Journalist on New Policy *[VREME 29 Mar]* 50

Serbia

Karadzic Interviewed on Further Sanctions *[Belgrade TV]* 51
U.S. Senate Delegation Meets Serbian Officials *[TANJUG]* 51
Russian Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives *[TANJUG]* 52
Examination of Seselj's Origin 'Absurd' *[POBJEDA 21 Mar]* 52
Plans for New Sandzak Political Status *[POLITIKA 25 Mar]* 54
Reasons for Charges Against Seselj Examined *[Zagreb DANAS 26 Mar]* 55

Montenegro

Montenegro Minister: No One Proposed Secession *[BORBA 26 Mar]* 56
Church Official Against Secession of Montenegro *[BORBA 24 Mar]* 58

Kosovo

Rugova Urges Security Council To Discuss Kosovo *[Tirana Radio]* 59
Serbs Prevent Swedish Delegation From Visiting *[ATA]* 59
Rugova Sees 'Parallel Society' for Albanians *[London THE EUROPEAN 15-18 Apr]* 60

'Key Points' of UNSC Resolution Cited

AU1904082293 Paris AFP in English 1740 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] United Nations, April 18 (AFP)—Key points of the U.N. Security Council [UNSC] Resolution 820 strengthening sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, adopted here Saturday by 13 votes for and two abstentions (China and Russia):

The Security Council:

Commends the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina in the form agreed to by two of the Bosnian parties, and welcomes their agreement.

Expresses grave concern at the refusal of the Bosnian Serbs to accept the agreement on interim arrangements and the provisional provincial map and calls on that party to accept the peace plan in full.

Demands that all parties and others concerned continue to observe the ceasefire and refrain from any further hostilities.

Demands full respect for the right of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the international humanitarian agencies to free and unimpeded access to all areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Condemns all violations of international humanitarian law, particularly of "ethnic cleansing" and the "massive, organized and systematic detention and rape of women," and reaffirms that those responsible for committing or ordering such acts will be held individually responsible.

Reaffirms the principles that all commitments made under duress are null and void and that all displaced persons have the right to return in peace to their former homes.

Declares its readiness to take all necessary measures to assist the parties in the effective implementation of the peace plan once it has been agreed to in full by all parties, and asks the U.N. Secretary General to submit a report on preparatory work on implementation if possible within 15 days.

Acting under Chapter Seven of the U.N. Charter, the Council decides that the following measures to strengthen sanctions will take effect in nine days unless a peace plan has been signed:

Import, export and transhipment of goods through U.N.-protected areas of Croatia and into Serb-controlled Bosnia and Herzegovina apart from essential humanitarian supplies will be allowed only with proper authorization from the Croatian or Bosnian Governments.

All states will take steps to prevent diversion to Serbia and Montenegro of goods officially destined for other places.

Transshipment of goods through Serbia and Montenegro on the Danube to be allowed only if specifically authorized by the United Nations.

No Serbian-registered or majority-owned vessels can pass through member states.

Riparian member states are responsible for taking necessary measures to enshure Danube shipping is in accordance with U.N. resolutions.

Committee on sanctions is to report regularly to the Security Council regarding alleged violations.

Member states to freeze government and private assets of Serbia and Montenegro on their territory.

Transport of all goods across land borders or into ports in Serbia and Montenegro is banned except for medical supplies, food and other humanitarian supplies.

States neighbouring Serbia and Montenegro to block cross-border passage of freight vehicles and rolling stock except at a strictly limited number of road and rail crossing points.

Member states to impound vessels, freight vehicles, rolling stock and aircraft owned or controlled by Serbia and Montenegro interests, and detain any vessels etc. suspected of being in violation of U.N. resolutions.

Provision of services for business in Serbia and Montenegro barred, except for telecommunications, postal services, legal services and other services authorized on a case by case basis.

Commercial maritime traffic banned from entering territorial sea of Serbia and Montenegro unless specifially authorized or in case of force majeure.

Member states authorized to use measures necessary under the authority of the Security Council to enforce this resolution.

All measures in this resolution to be reviewed after all three Bosnian parties have accepted the peace plan provided that the Bosnian Serb party is cooperating "in good faith in effective implementation."

Director of Offshore Radio Station Interviewed

LD1604090093

[Editorial Report] Hilversum Radio Netherlands in English at 1150 GMT on 15 April carries a nine-minute report on the activities of Radio Brod, which is based on the former oceanographic vessel Droit de Parole and is broadcasting in international waters. Station director (Ragica Panorac) views the conflict in the former Yugoslavia by saying: "One of the factors which really had a weight on the war was monopoly of the information, which means just one side of the problem given to the public. This is the reason why you've got so many tragedies and if you are in Croatia people think whatever Croat Government does is okay, in Serbia it's whatever

Serbian Government does it's okay. There's no critical difference. The public opinion is made by the government and by governmental TV, radio, and the press."

Discussing the station, the Hilversum reporter says: "The powerful 50-Kw transmitter, broadcasting on 720 kHz medium wave, has been up and running for over a week now but the station isn't yet fully operational, according to another one of the journalists involved in the project (Srdjan Uzowace)."

(Uzowace) says: "Broadcasts started 7th April in the evening hours as we parted from Bari. And we tried to broadcast music because we want to set all our equipment."

The reporter notes that the goal is to have a short news bulletin every hour on the hour and three major news bulletins daily in the morning, afternoon and evening.

(Uzowace) adds: "The news is based on first foreign press. That means that we will have AFP, AP, and REUTER, that means three strong news agencies. We will have local agencies: Serbian TANJUG, Croatian HINA, and Bosnian agencies."

The reporter says the station has also set up its own network of correspondents throughout the Balkans and in the near future plans to open a phone number in Paris to allow people inside and outside the war zone to pass on messages to relatives or friends. The station has received an EC subsidy to keep it on the air for a month and is hoping private donations will keep it going after that.

Asked about why the station is transmitting from a boat, station director (Panorac) says: "First, because broadcasting from the ship means in physically [as heard] sense as well to be independent. If you put any transmitter anywhere all over the ex-Yugoslavia you are exposed to the risk to lose it immediately; I mean to be captured by the state of any of these ex-republics. This is the reason why we decided to transmit from the boat because the fact of being in international waters means literally being independent. On the other side there is a very delicate political question. If you put this in Italy or any neighbor country you risk to make a conflict between ex-republics of Yugoslavia and the neighbor country."

The Hilversum reporter then gives further background information on the station and notes the project is expected to face considerable resistance from the Serbian and Croatian Governments.

(Panorac) adds: "We will, basically we'll have plenty of (?problems) with the all ex-republics of Yugoslavia because we are independent in the sense that we are fighting for pluralism of information and we are trying to give objective information, which is something that is disliked by all governments in all the states."

The Hilversum reporter gives further background on the setting up of Radio Brod and adds that despite financial backing from the EC, it is clearly violating international telecommunications law, which prohibits broadcasts from ships even if they are in international waters.

(Panorac) adds: "We are not fighting for the commercial reasons; we are not like Radio Caroline, fighting to have a few hours of pop music and working on commercial programs. We are fighting first for the dignity of professional journalists; we are fighting to stop the war and reestablish the dialogue; we are fighting to try to make communications among those parts of Yugoslavia who do not communicate anymore, especially members of the families spread all over ex-Yugoslavia which at the moment are not able to give a message or to talk to each other."

Property Law Approved by People's Assembly

AU1704145093 Tirana ATA in English 0827 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 17 (ATA)—Upon the request of the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party, the People's Assembly worked again on the Article 14 of the draft law on the return and compensation of the properties of the ex-proprietors, adopted on April 14. The chairmen of the two parliamentary groups, Ali Spahia and Teodor Laco reached a consensus for the reformulation of this article. Hence, the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party asked for a break for consultation, which lasted long. In the afternoon, while deputies were waiting for the session to start, the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party, too, asked for a break for consultation. At the end, both groups agreed on the new formulation of this article, which stresses the obligation of the state to solve, according to the actual housing norms, the question of housing of the present tenants, attaching priority to low income families.

The acceptable solution to this article helped in the approval of other articles. Upon the proposal of the Deputy Bashkim Kopliku, the Articles 17 to 21 were grouped in a single article with a new formulation. A special article was also added, stressing that the price of the construction site is defined by special law.

The draft law was voted in general and adopted by the majority of votes.

The People's Assembly will begin proceedings on Tuesday in the afternoon.

Berisha Approves Law

AU1704145193 Tirana ATA in English 0828 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 17 (ATA)—According to the Article 28 of the Law No. 7,491, dated April 29, 1991, on the Main Constitutional Provisions, Sali Berisha, president of the Republic, decreed the Law on the Return and Compensation of the Properties of the Ex-Owners.

Property Owners Group Protests

AU1804192593 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 18 (ATA)—The national meeting of the ex owners' association "Owners through justice" convened on April 11. It concluded that the draft law on properties seriously impairs the owners' interests, because by means of it the government intends to give a considerable part of these properties to the communist businessmen, who have got possession of them illicitly, the appeal by this association says among the other things.

The law on land tramples under food the most elementary rights of people, as the right of property, it underlines. In this context it is a communist and antidemocratic law. In addition it is also an anti national, because by declaring the people of the Greek minority owner of the Albanian soil it legalizes the claims of Greek chauvinism to declare North Epirus as a greek territory.

North Atlantic Assembly Grants Observer Status

AU1604164893 Tirana ATA in English 0839 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 16 (ATA)—Albania won the status of the observer to the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly. This organization includes NATO member states and those of North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

Albania's cooperation with NACC, which includes NATO member states and those of Eastern Europe, has been very active of late. Meanwhile Albania has intensified its relations with NATO.

The status of the observer marks for Albania a further step in getting the status of associate member to the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly.

Minister Discusses Construction Sector

AU1704184693 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 17 (ATA)—In an interview with the newspaper PASQYRA, Ilir Manushi, minister of constructions, underlines among the other things that 12,000 employees of the construction sector get assistance because of the restructuring of the enterprises, shortage of raw materials and financial funds. Presently there are about 9,000 workers getting assistance as a result of the creation of the private sector of construction and their employment in other jobs.

Mr. Manushi underlines in his interview that it is not about how many enterprises can resume their activity, but the problem is when will they work at full capacity. Currently all the enterprises of the construction sector work and about 43 thousand workers are employed.

According to the studies made by the Construction Department according to the economic program of 1993 and finances from other sources, it is expected that about 4,500 working power be employed this year.

NATO Commander Visits, Meets With Leaders

AU1604075293 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—After his meeting with President Zhelyu Zhelev General John Shalikashvili, the NATO supreme allied commander Europe [SACEUR], said that the purpose of his visit to Bulgaria was to discuss some topics of mutual interest with Bulgarian government officials. General Shalikashvili arrived on an official visit late last night at the invitation of the Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army.

President Zhelev and General Shalikashvili discussed a wide range of problems concerning security in the Balkans. President Zhelev repeated Bulgaria's position that no Balkan country should intervene in the Yugoslav conflict. The observance of the embargo on Serbia and Montenegro and the losses Bulgaria has incurred were also considered. President Zhelev said after the meeting that General Shalikashvili had promised to raise the need of compensating Bulgaria for the losses arising in connection with the embargo.

Later today SACEUR Shalikashvili was received by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. They considered the situation in the Balkans and the Yugoslav crisis. General Shalikashvili had also a meeting with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov.

In the afternoon General John Shalikashvili and General Lyuben Petrov gave a joint press conference commenting on the development of relations between the command of the Bulgarian Army and the Allied Command Europe. There are a lot of common points in our positions on the Yugocrisis and the need to activate the cooperation between the leadership of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army and NATO, General Petrov said. In his opinion, the contacts established so far are good groundwork for the strengthening of confidence and security and enhancement of the guarantees for Bulgaria's national security. At present our cooperation with NATO consists in training Bulgarian officers at the NATO military establishments, participation of Bulgarian high-ranking officers in NATO's forums and of NATO's officials in the forums of the command of the Bulgarian Army, the press conference was told.

General Shalikashvili said that his visit did not involve the signing of a specific agreement with Bulgaria. He thanked the Bulgarian government for observing the UN sanctions along the Danube although this caused damage to the country's economy. According to him, NATO is interested in strengthening its relations with all partners in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, Bulgaria included.

Today General Shalikashvili met Grece's ambassador in Sofia and the ambassadors of the NATO member-states with whom he had confidential talks, the national television informed in its report on the NATO official's visit.

Assembly Approves EC Association Agreement

AU1604165193 Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Tanya Tsekova report]

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Assembly today ratified the agreement on Bulgaria's association with the European Community, signed in Brussels on March 8. The debate and the vote in parliament were attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria, the ambassadors of the EC countries accredited to Sofia and Mr. Hans van den Broek, EC commissioner for external relations, who arrived on an official visit here last night at the invitation of the president.

The agreement will enter into force upon ratification by the parliaments of the EC member countries. Its trade part, however, will become effective in the middle of this year, opening European markets to Bulgarian goods and guaranteeing a protection of Bulgarian goods from a flood of imports. The agreement furthermore provides for permanent political dialogue at different levels and a considerable expansion of financial, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation.

"We feel Bulgaria as our real full partner. It already belongs to the nations of the European family. This act was performed thanks to the processes of transition to democracy," Mr. Van den Broek said today.

Meeting Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, the EC commissioner expressed willingness for the start of regular contacts between Bulgaria and the EC and promised that the services of the EC commission will do everything possible to speed up the procedures for entry into force of the trade section of the agreement by the middle of this year, which is particularly important for the stabilization of the Bulgarian economy. The crisis in the former Yugoslavia was high on the agenda of the session. "What happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina brings an indelible disgrace to the face of Europe," Prof. Berov said. Mr. Van den Broek assured him that the EC was fully understanding of the Bulgarian position that all Balkan countries should refrain from any military involvement in the conflict.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also discussed, among other things, at Mr. Van den Broek's meeting with MP's of the standing Committees on Foreign Policy, National Security and the Economy. The EC commissioner said that the EC shares Bulgaria's concerns over its security because the war threatens European security as well. He appreciated Bulgaria's sensible role in the Balkan political situation. Mr. Van den Broek gave high marks to the role played by the Bulgarian Parliament in the transition to democracy. He assured the MP's that the EC is looking for opportunities for a

closer integration of Bulgaria, which would lead to an enhancement of bilateral political dialogue and to political cooperation, exchange of views and information.

At their meeting today, President Zhelyu Zhelev and EC Commissioner Hans van den Broek analyzed the situation in Bulgaria, the presidential spokesman said. President Zhelev said that there are two impossible things in Bulgaria: a civil war and a restoration of communism. Dr. Zhelev emphasized that information of this kind is rather political speculation. The sides considered the progress of the reforms, the current priorities and the assistance which the EC can give Bulgaria.

Earlier in the day, President Zhelev and Mr. Van den Broek inaugurated the delegation of the Commission of the European Communities in Sofia. The ambassadors of the EC countries attended the ceremony.

As part of the schedule of his official visit to Sofia, Hans van den Broek conferred with Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Gatsinski. The two considered the progress of cooperation between Bulgaria and the EC, political dialogue and the implementation of the programme for cooperation and Bulgaria's closer integration into the European security structures and particularly the Western European Union. The sides discussed the opportunity for the EC to assist an accelerated construction of the strategic north-south trans-European motorway and a bridge over the River Danube and to encourage direct investment in Bulgaria.

EC Commissioner Meets Defense Minister

AU1604175393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] During his visit to Bulgaria, EC External Affairs Commissioner Hans van den Broek was received in Sofia this morning by Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov.

During their meeting they discussed matters connected with the international sanctions, the embargo against Serbia, and problems that concern Bulgaria.

Minister Aleksandrov briefed the visitor on the progress of the military reform. Later on, Mr. Van den Broek departed from the country.

EC Commissioner Gives News Conference

AU1604165393 Sofia BTA in English 1036 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—"I am leaving quite content with my meetings in Sofia," said Mr. Hans van den Broek, EC commissioner for external affairs, before his departure today. He paid an official visit here at the invitation of President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Mr. Van den Broek said relations between Bulgaria and the EC are entering a new stage of development, after yesterday the Bulgarian Parliament unanimously ratified the agreement on Bulgaria's association with the community. "We are encouraged by the progress of economic and political reform, we do not underestimate the difficulties into which Bulgaria is running on its road to a market economy, and we support the efforts of the government in this direction," the EC commissioner said. He described his talks with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, President Zhelyu Zhelev and MP's and the free exchange of views as the best proof of the progress of democracy in Bulgaria.

Berov Discusses Problems With Businessmen

AU1604193293 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Executives of 60 private and state-run companies, members of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, today met with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. The meeting was attended by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Valentin Karabashev, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov and the boss of the chamber Bozhidar Bozhinov.

The businessmen discussed problems they are facing.

Answering questions, Mr. Berov said government orders have been abandoned and could no longer exist in a market economy. He said requests for interest-free or low-interest loans were naive. All that is slowing down the land reform now are technical matters, such as measuring the land to be returned in its real boundaries, he said. The prime minister thinks banks are unwilling to finance the liquidation commissions (which are winding up communist-time collective farms), as the latter are temporary structures. Banks refrain from lending to farmers due to the lack of titles to the land and its high degree of partitioning, he said. Asked about the restructuring of bad corporate debt, he said it was a difficult process and would be done in several stages, giving priority to viable companies.

Berov, Ministers Discuss First 100 Days

AU1704132193 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Evgeniya Drumeva report]

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and cabinet ministers today called a special press conference in connection with the cabinet's first 100 days.

The cabinet headed by Lyuben Berov (independent), a professor of economics, was elected in late December on the mandate of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), after the two biggest parliamentary forces—the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)—failed to form a cabinet. It came after an SDS cabinet headed by Filip

Dimitrov, which was in office for a year, was forced to step down by the majority in parliament.

Prof. Berov said today the legacy handed down by the previous cabinet was "not quite good." Yet the cabinet managed to draft the 1993 budget bill with nearly the same deficit as in 1992, though the previous government had left 8,200 million leva in outstanding debts.

Both the prime minister and Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov stressed they would resign if parliament voted corrections in the key parameters of the budget. The finance minister said he would resign if parliament voted against the proposed foreign debt management appropriation. Recently there were disputes in the Parliamentary Economic Committee on whether debt service payments should be planned before Bulgaria signed an agreement with its creditors.

Lyuben Berov said the slump in production persisted in the early days of the cabinet. However, this country has hit the bottom and late in 1993 or early next year the first signs of economic recovery will become obvious, Mr Berov said.

Berov stressed the cabinet had done much in the social area during its first 100 days. It restored the dialogue with the trade unions and reached an agreement with them on a cost-of-living adjustment.

Answering a question, the prime minister denied a statement by Krustyu Petkov, leader of the influential Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, that Bulgaria is ruled by a puppet government and that the Podkrepa Trade Union is exerting influence on it. At the same time, Mr. Berov did not deny that the cabinet coordinated its decisions, including personnel changes, with the parliamentary groups and trade unions supporting it. He confirmed today he would make some cabinet changes after the vote on the budget. A foreign minister will be elected (now Mr. Berov is acting foreign minister). Mr. Berov said no candidate for the position of foreign minister had been acceptable so far to the three parliamentary groups supporting the cabinet—of the BSP, the DPS and the New Union for Democracy (set up by MP's who left the SDS shortly after the election of the cabinet). A new transport minister will be elected as well. The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture will be divided into two. The prime minister said he did not hold consultations with the parliamentary SDS because it had declared total opposition to the cabinet.

Minister Warns Against Intervention in Balkans

AU1904092293 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov by Ralf Petrov "before his visit to Austria, which will begin today, Monday"; place not given: "Situation Would Escalate in Case of Intervention"]

[Text] [Petrov] What is the position of the new Bulgarian Government on the Balkan crisis?

[Aleksandrov] We insist that all neighboring Balkan countries keep strictly out of the conflict. We are afraid that, because of the accumulated historical prejudices and the tense and partly tragic historical experiences in the Balkans, any step, in particular military intervention, might escalate the situation.

[Petrov] What are the contacts between the Defense Ministries of Bulgaria and Greece, which is afraid because of the intensive contacts between Turkey, Macedonia, Albania, and Bulgaria?

[Aleksandrov] Sofia is making intensive and successful efforts to normalize relations with the neighboring NATO states. Our contacts with the Defense Ministries in Greece and also in Turkey have the same importance and the same goal for Bulgaria—easing tensions with regards to the problems and the stability in the border areas. There is hardly any other region in Europe, with the exception of the German-French borders, where relations between formerly hostile states, which certainly did not face each other formally [as published], have been reestablished in a tolerant and even cordial way.

[Petrov] Bulgaria is also surrounded by the hotbed of conflict of the ex-Soviet Union. How is the country's security guaranteed?

[Aleksandrov] The conflicts in the Caucasus and in the Asian part of the former Soviet Union do not directly affect Bulgaria. Our security is guaranteed. The historically developed military relations between Bulgaria and the former Soviet Union should not be underestimated either, and will probably continue for some time. To equip the Bulgarian Army with western weapons and technology would cost $5 billion. This is a lot of money, which Bulgaria simply cannot afford to spend in the current crisis. During my talks with NATO politicians and military officers I have noted that no one questions the necessity of contacts with Russia and Ukraine at a military level.

[Petrov] Hungary wants to join NATO. Does Sofia also plan to take this step for security reasons?

[Aleksandrov] Basically, there are certain trends. These trends also exist in Bulgaria. However, reality is largely different. One needs an invitation by NATO to be accepted into the alliance. An application would be inappropriate. At the moment, no state of the former Warsaw Pact has a chance of being accepted into NATO.

Berov, Delegation Arrive in Moscow

AU1904102293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] A Bulgarian delegation led by Prime Minister Berov has left for Moscow for meetings with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Prior to his departure, Mr. Berov told our reporter that issues related to trade relations, transportation between the two countries, military supplies for our Army, Russia's debt to Bulgaria, and other matters will be discussed.

Interior Minister Mikhaylov, a member of the delegation, stressed that an agreement on cooperation in the struggle against organized crime, drug trafficking, and arms smuggling will be discussed.

Our reporter in Moscow, Valeriy Todorov, reported a short while ago that the Bulgarian premier and the delegation led by him have already arrived in the Russian capital.

Collective Agreement for Engineering Sector Signed

AU1604193693 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Television Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Interview with Industry Minister Rumen Bikov by unidentified reporters in Sofia on 16 April—recorded]

[Text] [Studio announcer] Industry Minister Rumen Bikov has beaten off some of the attacks on him. Today he reached an understanding with the engineering workers and signed a branch agreement with them. Minister Bikov will certainly be able to enjoy a well-earned rest during the Easter vacation.

[First reporter] Minister Bikov has good reason to uncork the champagne. Together with the employers from the Bulgarian Economic Chamber and representatives of the two big trade unions that recently called for his resignation, he today signed a collective branch contract for the engineering, electronics, and electrical engineering industries and for the military-industrial complex.

The three parties to the agreement agreed to a minimum working wage of 1,350 leva. They also agreed on labor conditions, redundancy procedures, and social allowances.

[Second reporter] Minister Bikov, why was it necessary to hold a protest march to reach an agreement.

[Bikov] In my view, the protest march was simply an expression of high feelings rather than of realism—or was meant to help in some way the signing of this branch contract. All the issues were in fact cleared up long before the protest march took place.

Breakaway Group Registers Rival Agrarian Party

AU1704145293 Sofia BTA in English 2032 GMT 16 Apr 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Committee, and Ivan Gaytandzhiev MP are leaving for Washington tomorrow. They will attend a symposium on civil society and parliamentary control over its armed forces at the invitation of the leadership of the North Atlantic Assembly from April 19 to 24. The two MP's will have meetings at the U.S. Congress.

After the Easter recess, the New Union for Democracy (a parliamentary group set up recently by MP's who left or were expelled from the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces) will call for the setting up of a new political force, the group's spokesperson Radka Vasileva said today. It will have a Gaullist character. Its members will not represent the public organizations they belong to. No party quotas will be fixed. According to Ms. Vasileva, the idea has drawn support from many intellectuals.

The editorial staff of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, the daily of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, are taking steps to prevent the Agrarian Party registered yesterday from usurping the newspaper, BTA learned from Georgi Khinchev, the daily's editor-in-chief. The new party was formed by people who left the United Agrarian Party headed by Anastasiya Mozer. The conflict in the daily was provoked by the fact that the deputy editor supports the new formation and wants to start a new agrarian newspaper.

Commenting on the registration of the new agrarian party, Anastasiya Mozer said she was surprised. The court decision is both "surprising and wrong," she said, because it was taken at a time when the Bulgarian Agrarian Party is awaiting registration after its reunification congress in November. We will do our best to have the decision rescinded, Mrs. Mozer told a press conference today, without giving further details. The leadership of the United Agrarian Party believes that a certain political force which is against agrarian unity before the elections is masterminding the actions of the breakaway group.

The inmates of Bulgaria's only women's prison in Sliven sentenced for minor crimes will be granted home leave for Easter. 46 inmates of Varna prison who are not a danger to the public were also given home leave.

Four foreigners were detained by Bulgarian border guards in the last two days. Three Lebanese citizens with false passports were caught in an international train leaving Ruse yesterday morning. Their passports were forged in Plovdiv. Their destination was Germany via the Czech Republic. Today a Syrian citizen was detained near the village of Topolnitsa (southwestern Bulgaria).

The border guards confiscated 700 grams of gold jewels, two polished diamonds, several Byzantine coins, about 36,000 dollars, costly watches and other objects. The 24-year-old Syrian, who has lived in Thessaloniki for three years, was arrested in an attempt to cross from Greece to Bulgaria. An investigation has been instituted.

Mothers held a demonstration in Sofia today, demanding that the cabinet restore the prescription of free medicines to children and pregnant women. Over 125,000 signatures have been collected in support of the demand.

Duty-Free Imports for Power Industry Adopted

AU1604164293 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—At its meeting today, the Council of Ministers adopted a decree granting a one-time customs exemption to an import of machines and equipment for the Power Engineering Committee from Germany, Croatia and the Czech Republic. The equipment includes a mechanized plant for coal mining, special pumps for heat power stations, and a conveyor belt.

The Council of Ministers approved a proposal by Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev on the conclusion of a new agreement on air communications between the Governments of Bulgaria and Austria. The proposal was motivated by the need to update the texts signed as far back as 1958.

The government decided to withdraw the firearms issued to members of the public as a government reward prior to January 1, 1990. The firearms will be held at the territorial departments of the Interior Ministry.

The Council of Ministers decided to introduce a visa-free entry clearance for the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany holding diplomatic passports and travelling to Bulgaria for a term of up to three months, provided they do not engage in employment during their stay in this country.

The cabinet considered a memorandum from Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, concerning the fulfilment of the agreement between the Governments of the former USSR and Bulgaria on cooperation in the development of the Yamburg gas deposit and the construction of the gas conduit from Yamburg to the western border of the USSR.

The memorandum emphasizes that negotiations must be held between Bulgaria, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine on updating the agreement, which was signed on March 19, 1986. The rights and obligations of each of the sides should be fixed on a bilateral basis without compromising the principles of the existing document.

The cabinet approved an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation between the Governments of Bulgaria and Poland. The government approved a draft treaty of friendly relations between Bulgaria and Kazakhstan.

The order issued by Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev suspending the import and transit of live animals, meat, meat preparations, milk and dairy products from the EC countries, Poland and Austria was formalized as a government decision today.

The decree specifies that the restriction does not apply to meat, meat preparations, milk and dairy products produced prior to February 1, 1993.

Radioactivity After Tomsk Said 'Normal'

AU1904105993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Apr 93 p 3

[Lyuba Nikolaeva report; "Radioactivity in Bulgaria Is Normal; Large Part of Antinuclear Shelters Are Unfit"]

[Text] The Civil Defense announced that the nuclear cloud caused by the incident in Tomsk-7 is situated over Alaska, and will not be carried by the wind toward Bulgaria.

Precise measuring devices monitor the radiation around the clock in 32 major cities. In 400 additional locations measurements are conducted three times a day. Colonel Tachev, Civil Defense deputy commander, said that the population will be notified if radiation increases.

According to high-ranking Civil Defense commanders, the inspection of the shelters that has begun is not related to the incident. The result of the inspection shows that a large part of the protection means are damaged and unfit.

In the Montana region, where the potential Bulgarian hazard—the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant—is located, only 15 percent of the shelters conform to the requirements. A large part of the 1,500 antiradiation shelters inspected are also unfit to use. Plundered, without telephones and radio cables, and with damaged doors, which no longer are air-tight and hermetically sealed, they cannot really protect the people.

Havel, Klaus Agree on Federal Property Strategy

LD1704190393 Prague CTK in English 1456 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel and Premier Vaclav Klaus have agreed on the super-zero variant to settle property relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Havel's spokesman Ladislav Spacek told journalists today.

The super-zero variant is a unilateral proposal by the Czech party. It has been presented by Premier Klaus and Vaclav Havel supports it, Spacek added.

Klaus said on television on Thursday that if the Slovak-proposed zero variant should be applied in the division of the former federal property, then he would not accept but a super-zero variant, which would do away for ever with any property problems in relations between the Czech and Slovak republics.

The Slovak zero variant was proposed earlier this month after the two parties failed to reach agreement on the division of all former federal property as the Slovaks made new claims.

Havel thinks that the super-zero variant is quite feasible and prospective because no recriminations and claims will be made, no debts incurred and the problem will cease to exist and burden the two countries' relations, Spacek said.

Obtaining the outstanding debts from Slovakia is illusory given its present economic situation. The zero variant means to quantify the debts and to seek compensations—and this is quite complex. The super-zero variant is the most feasible way of solving the problem, Spacek said.

Meat Exports Marginal Part of Foreign Trade

AU1604192293 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK)—The Czech Republic exports and imports of meat to and from the European Community (EC) make up less than one percent of total foreign trade, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said at a government session today.

In 1992, the Czech foreign trade turnover totalled some 120 billion korunas ($4 billion), of which meat amounted to about 1 billion korunas ($33 million) in 1992, Klaus said.

The EC measures banning the imports of meat, livestock, and dairy products from Central and Eastern European Countries do not mean a qualitative shift in the relation of the EC to these countries, Klaus said.

It is a continuation of EC policy, which at certain times has certain impulses, which give it an excuse, to implement it in a tougher or softer way. The occurrence of foot and mouth disease in Italy was such an excuse so that the veterinary argument could be applied, Klaus said.

Klaus pointed out the fact that Western markets are largely closed to the Czech goods. This measure is a result of a global EC policy, and perhaps also a result of the French elections.

Coincidentally, the dividing line is again that of the iron curtain, Klaus said.

A new integration process can be observed since this January, as the occurrence of foot and mouth disease was not announced directly by Italy to the Czech Republic, but through Brussels on behalf of the whole EC, Klaus stated.

Then it is difficult to decide whether to accept the integration process in the EC or to adopt a selective approach towards the individual EC countries, Klaus said.

Havel Reviews Relations With Slovakia

AU1604191693 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Apr 93 p 3

[Berthold Kohler report: "Havel: We Are Condemned to Friendship With Slovakia, so to Speak"]

[Text] Prague—It was the Slovaks who were the first to urge independence, but the Czechs doubtlessly had the better initial conditions for it. The long history of independent state status for the "historical lands" of Bohemia and Moravia, the more mature economic structure, and the advantageous proximity to the West favored the Czech Republic in coming to terms with the problems which resulted from the transition to the market economy and the simultaneous dissolution of the joint state. Regarding the material matters of life, the Czech citizens therefore had little reason for real complaints during the first few months of independence. Basically, one could be satisfied with developments, says Vaclav Havel, the first president of the Czech Republic. The unprecedented transformation of society is working relatively well, in an orderly manner, and quickly. The economic reform—one of the most courageous ones compared with the other post-communist countries—seems to be successful. There is no large-scale unemployment and no major social divisions.

The former dissident, playwright, and last Czechoslovak president expresses, however, dissatisfaction with the moral climate in his country: "This does not seem to be particularly healthy." The complete change in hierarchies and values has also led to great psychological tremors in society. Therefore, many people are in "freedom shock," or "derailed, so to speak." This leads to extremism and to a certain lack of inhibition, or "gold fever," in other words. He hears from various sides about "strange" mafia organizations, which often are members of the old nomenklatura who are taking advantage of the privatization process for their benefit. What

the Charter 77 cofounder prescribes as therapeutic for any society also makes for "very slow" progress, namely, looking clearly at one's past.

Powers of the President

Havel, who is 56, says that it is an "optical illusion" that the Czech head of state has fewer powers than the Czechoslovak head of state had in the past. In fact, he has more constitutional rights, such as the right to send laws back to Parliament. In the federation, the office had greater political weight despite having fewer powers, but at the time of the large antitotalitarian movements there were completely different political framework conditions. At that time, he almost played the role of a "leader of the people." After two elections, however, a real range of parties has developed. "I do not see the fact that a head of state cannot do whatever he likes as a deficiency, but rather as a sign of a stabilizing political system." The Czech president is not just a decorative figure, but plays an important role in the new political system, Havel points out.

Havel recognizes that state policy is primarily determined by the parties, which won the elections and have a majority in Parliament. He, as the president, feels committed to representing this policy—with personal elements and emphasis. "Of course, I am a bit different from Prime Minister Klaus or Foreign Minister Zieleniec, therefore I sometimes use slightly different language or stress different sides of the problems, says Havel, who was elected head of state for five years on 26 January. Being a mere spokesman for the government parties from the president's chair is not in the parties' interests either.

The reasons for disagreements between the president's office and the Foreign Ministry, which were made public, were not fundamental political or conceptional differences, Havel stresses. Rather they involved technical issues or practical matters of communication between the two institutions. "I can identify with the policy of the government coalition in my own way. Now we are just looking for some form of cooperation."

Havel assesses political relations with Slovakia as "basically not bad." The dissolution of the Federation took place peacefully and in an orderly manner, which is not something usual. He does not believe that the current complications regarding division of the former federal property might "freeze" mutual relations or even damage the good relations among the respective citizenries. Havel is attentive to the political and economic differences between the two republics, but does not want to join the Czech analysts yet who see an unstoppable process of division moving the Czechs toward the West and the Slovaks toward the East. It is true that in Slovakia another type of party won in the elections, that the economy and society have different structures, that the country is located farther east in geographic terms, and that the government seems to be cultivating intensive contacts with Russia and Ukraine. "However, I would not conclude that this will lead to a divergence in future developments."

Havel thinks that Slovak foreign policy statements so far have not differed substantially from the Czech ones. Both countries are interested in close cooperation with the EC and NATO, and are aware of the importance of regional cooperation within the framework of the Visegrad Alliance. "I would not consider it positive if our respective developments diverged too much," Havel says, who was one of the most determined defenders of the Czechoslovak Federation. Relations with Slovakia still have priority in Prague. "Whether or not we like it, because of the high level of personal, cultural, and economic relationship with Slovakia, it is not just in our own interest to be friends. We are condemned to friendship, so to speak."

The president cannot reduce the multi-faceted relationship with the big neighbor in the West, Germany, to a simple formula. In his view, the elements of fruitful mutual influence have dominated the histories of the two states. Only during the past century have truly serious shadows emerged. Since that time, relations have been "a bit dramatic" in being creative and full of conflict simultaneously. Now, however, a new era is beginning, Havel says, who will make his first official visit to Germany as Czech president from 24 to 27 April. It is the task of the current generation to relate to the good things in the common history. The bad things should be mentioned expressly and made the topic of businesslike analysis, because "knowing the truth always has a purging and healing effect."

Is he tired of being confronted repeatedly with the question of the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and of having to accept criticism in his own country every time for his unpopular view? "I would not deserve my salary in that case," says Havel, who feels that it is the duty of the politician to never be tired in such respects. On the other hand, he has already said everything he wishes to say on this topic and does not feel any great need to return to it. Immediately after his first election as Czechoslovak president in December 1989 and repeatedly afterward, Havel stated that the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia after World War II was wrong and morally reprehensible. Most recently, Havel indirectly compared this act with the "ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. For that he was harshly criticized again by the leftists and also had to accept disapproving comments from members of the government. Havel has always advocated the view that no legal consequences for the present (such as claims to compensation) can be derived from his moral assessment of these past events.

Havel confirms the announcement by Czech Prime Minister Klaus that they are looking for an appropriate level for talks with the representatives of the Sudeten Germans. For reasons of principle, it is insisted that the interlocutor of an association, such as the Sudeten

German Expellees' Association, cannot be the Czech state, represented by president or government. Deputies, scientists, or independent groups organs are conceivable as appropriate counterparts.

Foot and Mouth Disease Vaccination Ended in 1991

AU1604192793 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK)—The vaccination of cattle against foot and mouth disease was ended on September 1, 1991 in the former Czechoslovakia, Deputy Director of the State Veterinary Administration (SVS) Leos Celeda told CTK on Wednesday [14 April].

On April 4 the European Community (EC) banned the imports of meat, livestock, and dairy products from Eastern European Countries on the grounds that foot and mouth disease which has occurred in Italy is due to imported meat from Eastern Europe.

The British Department of Agriculture reported today that certificates for cattle imported from the former Czechoslovakia had been falsified.

It was found that the cattle had been vaccinated, which is an illegal practice for animals imported into Britain.

The investigation of the cattle imports to Britain focused only on serological tests which do not distinguish whether antibodies were by disease or by vaccination, Celeda said.

The discovery of the foot and mouth antibodies does not exclude the alternative that the Czech Republic exported vaccinated animals.

A written inquiry by the British Department of Agriculture regarding the vaccination schemes was handed over to the SVS on April 1, Celeda noted. Until today, the British have not put forward any demand concerning the reclamation of the delivered animals, he said.

The issue was discussed when an expert group of the EC Veterinary Committee made a working visit to the Czech Republic (April 1-6), but its members were not able to specify the type and number of the antibodies which were found, Celeda said.

It was agreed that further information would be provided through the British Department of Agriculture, Celeda stated.

KGB Control of Former Bases Suspected

AU1504110493 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 13 (CTK)—Some of the people who have been resettled from the Chernobyl area in Ukraine to North Bohemia may not be Volhynian Czechs and may be controlled and organized by the Russian secret service KGB, a councillor from Ralsko, North Bohemia, told CTK today.

The councillor, Major-General Stanislav Prochazka, is a former Defense Ministry staffer.

The view that not all the resettlers are Volhynian Czechs is also held by officials from the local government office in Ceska Lipa, a North Bohemian district town.

Prochazka thinks that the KGB is interested in controlling the former military bases at Ralsko and Mlada, also North Bohemia.

The Soviets know the territory very well. The question is whether the resettlement of the alleged Volhynian Czechs was planned, he said.

Prochazka thinks that only about 50 percent of the resettled inhabitants of the Chernobyl region are Volhynian Czechs. He believes that some Volhynian Czechs did not want to move from the Chernobyl area and that Russians and Ukrainians replaced them.

Jan Veltrubsky, head of the district administration in Ceska Lipa, dismissed this claim as outrageous. When we were inviting the Volhynian Czechs here, we were promising them the best living conditions, he said.

Stanislav Zalud, deputy economics minister, said this was the first time that he had heard about the allegedly false Volhynian Czechs.

He added that responsibility for the selection of people to be resettled rests with the Foreign Ministry.

Responding to a statement by Ceska Lipa Deputy Mayor L. Engel that he doubts whether all the resettlers are Volhynian Czechs, which he made in a regular Czech Television program on Saturday [10 April], Ruzena Misonova from the Economics Ministry told CTK that the work of all of them had been evaluated very positively by their employers, and that all of them have already adapted to life in the Czech Republic.

According to available information, some 9,000 ethnic Czechs and about 8,000 ethnic Slovaks live in Ukraine.

Under the resettlement project, which is to be completed this year, over 2,000 Volhynian Czechs should find their new homes at various places of the Czech Republic.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 April on page 3 carries a 400-word "kou"-signed report on the aforementioned 10 April Czech Television program. The report includes the following passage: "Ceska Lipa Deputy Mayor L. Engel drew attention to the fact that the Ralsko compound was an important base for the countries of Eastern Europe, not only by virtue of its location and size but also because nuclear weapons were stationed there. According to Engel, the further development in this area generates certain feelings of threat. He described as one of the biggest dangers the manner and

the speed with which Soviet property has been transferred into private hands and the kind of people who have acquired this property. Engel said that these are people who were among the Army's top echelons as well as people who used to deal in foreign trade, specifically in trade with arms. 'When I add to this the vicinity of radioactive resources and uranium mining in the area as wei' as the unstable situation on the territory of the former Soviet Union and the current transfer of Volhynian Czechs to this area, I must ask myself whether Ceske Lipa district might not become a place of transshipment for weapons, narcotics, or substances of special designation,' Engel said."]

Ministry Investigates Volhynian Czechs

AU1604145093 Prague CTK in English 2144 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK)—Doubts about the genuiness of some Volhynian Czechs from the area hit by the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster in 1986 resettled to the Czech Republic are being investigated by the Czech Interior Ministry, Beata Bernikova from the Ministry's press department told CTK today.

The doubts were raised by Ludvik Engel, deputy mayor of Ceska Lipa, north Bohemia, in a regular Czech Television program on Saturday. Some 300 resettled Volhynian Czechs are living in the Ceska Lipa district. The resettlement project was launched in 1991 and is to be completed this year.

On Tuesday, Major General Stanisalv Prochazka, a councillor from Ralsko, north Bohemia, where some of the resettled persons live, told CTK that maybe not all the resettles were Volhynian Czechs and that they might be controlled and organized by the Russian secret service KGB.

Prochazka, a former Defense Ministry staffer, believes that the KGB is interested in controlling the former military bases at Ralsko and Mlada, north Bohemia as well.

Tomas Haisman, the former Czechoslovak Government's Commissioner for the Resettlement of Ethnic Czechs and Slovaks from Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, today told CTK that the former Czechoslovak Government had not been sure as early as two years ago whether all Volhynian Czechs from the Chernobyl area fully qualified for resettlement to the Czech Republic.

Haisman, now director of the refugee department of the Czech Interior Ministry, said that one aspect of the resettlement of Volhynian Czechs had also been related to state security, but he did not elaborate.

Our diplomatic mission in Kiev objected to the resettlement of some people, he said.

He explained that according to staffers from the Czechoslovak Consulate in Ukraine, some people were not at all entitled to resettlement.

They were people who did not come from the endangered region, Haisman said and added that it had been difficult to prove a longer stay in the contaminated area.

He said that it was not possible to draw doubts (from the lists of the resettled people) about the 'genuiness' of the Volhynian Czechs. The lists did not state localities from which they came, Haisman added.

He said that responsibility for the selection of people to be resettled rested with the Czech Economy Ministry.

On Tuesday, Stanislav Zalud, deputy economy minister, told CTK that the responsibility was with the Foreign Ministry.

Haisman pointed out that in view of the doubts over the selection of people to be resettled in 1991, the then Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko worked out rules to define people entitled to resettlement.

The rules were prepared, but I do not know whether they were applied, he added.

Meciar Interviewed on Trade Union Protest

LD1604215893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Representatives of trade unions of Slovakia should meet in two hours' time in Bratislava in order to draw the attention of the government, by their protest, that it is high time to halt the decay of the economy and create conditions to enliven it.

We asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar this morning to explain the viewpoint of the government not only to the prepared action of the trade unionists, but to the overall economic situation in Slovakia.

[Begin Meciar recording] First we are concerned that all the political and social forces in the Slovak Republic cooperate for a certain aim. We are interested in good relations with the trade unions—after all, the deputy prime minister is the former president of the Trade Union Confederation. [passage omitted] Above all, one needs to make programs in real enterprises, in real conditions. We have no support. It is necessary to discuss questions of the market, for example; in all other countries trade unionists are very actively involved in creating labor opportunities, while in our country there is no such cooperation. [passage omitted]

Questions of government control via the trade unions means that the constitutional mechanism is being disturbed. The control of government activity should be carried out by the parliament and not by the trade union organization. If this is done prior to discussion by parliament, then one has to understand it as being a political, not a trade union protest, that is, in fact, expressing a vote of no confidence in the parliament as an institution, suspecting it of lack of ability objectively to assess the situation facing the government. [passage omitted] Whether they like it or not our trade unionist friends, despite verbally advocating attempts at improvement and stabilization, in fact make no such attempts. Doubts surrounding the signature of the general agreements are unnecessary. Deputy Premier Kovac spent yesterday in a long conversation with Mr. Englis elucidating all the viewpoints. [passage omitted]

There are social and economic questions. In the pre-election campaign we spoke—and personally I said it quite often—that the Slovak Republic may be compared to a train in which 5.3 million people are sitting; it is going down the hill and has no brakes. So, the first condition to improve the situation is to stop the mechanism of decay of the economy. We gained the instruments leading toward this only in January and, in essence, by the division of the currency, only in February. If someone blames us for the situation of crisis which has occurred, this is just not true. The crisis realistically existed at the time when we took hold of the government. We are doing everything we can to halt this crisis. This period is the period during which we either halt the crisis or the train is going to hit something. And that is why the government is calling to improve and acting to achieve improvement of the economic situation.

If today in the square during the protest there is to be criticism of the government for not increasing wages, then I should like to draw attention to the fact that only for the second half of 1992 since we came to power, wages have increases on average by 1,054 korunas and real wages by 8.6 percent. The trade unionists can tell me what other government in Europe has managed to achieve this. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Economic Decline Slows in January

AU1604174193 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Apr 93 pp 8, 9

[Slovak Statistical Office report: "The Economy in February"]

[Text] Negative trends prevailing in the Slovak economy in January eased, particularly as far as inflation and unemployment are concerned.

Regarding production capacity, according to preliminary data, the decline in industrial production and the production of eggs and milk increased in February, compared to January, and the number of livestock declined. On the other hand, there was an increase in construction output, retail sales volume, and public catering and accommodation revenue—in both current and comparable prices—and in the volume of transported goods. According to preliminary figures, there is a trade surplus.

There was a deficit of 1.5 billion Slovak korunas in the state budget on 28 February.

The number of economic entities in the private sector continued to rise, and the subsequent effects on overall output were different in different sectors.

Price Development and Inflation

Compared with January, prices for consumer goods and services rose 1.6 percent in February. Of this, food prices rose 0.9 percent, non-food prices 1.6 percent, public catering 1.2 percent, and services 3.7 percent. While prices were rising faster in January (8.9 percent against December 1992), price increases slowed in February, which was mostly due to the introduction of the new tax system.

Compared with December 1992, consumer prices have risen, on average, 9.8 percent since the beginning of the year.

The inflation rate dropped to 1.6 percent (from 8.9 percent in January). Compared with February 1992, the inflation rate in February 1993 was 19.3 percent (17.7 percent in January). On the average, the inflation rate has reached 18.5 percent since the beginning of the year, compared to the same period last year.

Cost of Living and Private Consumption

In February, the cost of living rose 1.6 percent, against January 1993 in all social groups (8.1 percent in January). The cost of food rose 1.2 percent in employee households, 1.3 in farm households, and 0.7 in pensioner households.

On the average, the cost of living was higher for all social groups—1.4 percent in non-food products and 3.3 percent in services.

According to the results for January, personal income reached 17.2 billion Slovak korunas, which was approximately at the level of the current month [as published] in the fourth quarter of 1992 (without December). Compared with January 1992, nominal personal income was 3.7 percent higher, real wages declined 11.8 percent. Income from wages rose 8.2 percent, social income 11.2 percent, and other income declined 9.3 percent.

In February, average monthly income reached 4,636 Slovak korunas in enterprises with more than 25 employees, and was 1 percent—that is, 47 korunas—lower than in January. In the construction industry, the average wage reached 4,343 Slovak korunas and was 4.2 percent—or 192 Slovak korunas—lower than in January. In transportation, the average monthly salary was 4,912 Slovak korunas, and was equal to that in January. In retailing, the average monthly salary reached 4,173 Slovak korunas and was 5.3 percent—that is, 211 Slovak korunas—higher than in January.

Consumption by the public, measured by retail turnover and sales, rose 4.4 percent (in current prices) in public catering and accommodation compared with January. It rose, against January and February 1992, 28.2 percent. Consumption in February was 3 percent higher in comparable prices against January, and 8.2 percent higher since the beginning of the year.

Employment Rate

In February the number of employees in retailing rose 2.2 percent against January (in enterprises with 25 and more employees), and 0.1 percent in transportation. The number of employees in industry declined 1 percent, and 0.8 percent in construction. On the average, since the beginning of the year, the number of employees was 6.6 percent smaller in industry, 2.8 percent in construction, and 6.9 percent in transportation, compared to last year. In retailing, the number of employees increased 7.4 percent.

According to records of the Slovak Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and Family, on 28 February there were 301,200 job seekers, and the unemployment rate reached 11.8 percent. This was 0.6 points (that is, 15,100 people) more than in January 1993. Labor offices were offering 13,100 job opportunities, that is, 1,100 fewer than in January 1993. On 28 February 1993, 15 enterprises in Slovakia worked under the so-called limited regime [skrateny rezim]. Their number dropped by 16 compared with January. Of 9,341 employees of these enterprises, 5,239 received partial wage compensation.

Some 208,700 people were drawing some kind of benefit in February. They received financial support of 369.1 million Slovak korunas, of this, 160.6 million korunas represented unemployment benefits. This means, on the average, that each recipient of unemployment benefits received 1,506 Slovak korunas and each recipient of social assistance received 2,043 korunas monthly.

Trade

According to preliminary data, goods worth 11.1 billion Slovak korunas were imported since the beginning of the year, and goods worth 12.5 billion korunas were exported in the same period. This means that in the first two months of 1993, there was a trade surplus of 1.4 billion Slovak korunas.

According to these statistics, a surplus of 0.3 billion Slovak korunas was reached in trade with the Czech Republic. Imports from the Czech Republic reached 3.7 billion Slovak korunas, and represented 33.3 percent of imports. Goods worth 4 billion Slovak korunas were exported to the Czech Republic, which is 32 percent of all exports.

Output and Production Costs

Industrial output reached 27.5 billion Slovak korunas in February, and was 2.1 percent smaller than in January (in comparable prices). Against the same period last year (February 1992), output was 16.6 percent lower. Volume was 55.6 billion Slovak korunas since the beginning of the year, which is 16 percent less than one year ago. The private sector represented 15.9 percent of total volume.

Cumulatively, sales of enterprises with 24 or more employees was worth 54.7 billion Slovak korunas since the beginning of the year, which is 20.6 percent less than last year. Of this, 16.4 billion was in goods designated for export, 0.5 percent more than within two months one year ago.

Manufacturing prices for industrial products rose 1.5 percent in February against January, and 15.7 percent against the same period in 1992. The sharpest increases (against January) were in prices for mineral raw materials (6.2 percent) and the generation and distribution of electricity, gas, and water (6.4 percent). The increase in prices for industrial products also affected the processing industry, where prices rose 1.1 percent.

In February, construction output rose 2.8 billion Slovak korunas in comparable prices and was 3.5 percent higher than in January. Since the beginning of the year, delivered construction amounted to 5.45 billion Slovak korunas, which is 25.4 percent less compared with the same period last year.

According to the estimate, prices for finished construction rose 2.8 percent against January, and 13.2 percent

against the same period last year. Material prices rose 4.1 percent against the previous month. Compared with the same period last year, their prices rose 13.2 percent.

In livestock production (including private farms), the number of livestock in all categories was smaller on 28 February 1992 [year as published] compared with the same period last year. There were fewer cattle, by 14.7 percent—of this 11.9 percent of cows—hogs 4.2 percent, and poultry 9.0 percent—of this, 10.7 percent of hens.

In February, milk yield was 6.4 percent lower than in January, but was slightly higher when calculated per calendar day. Compared with last February, milk yield declined by 14.6 million liters or 15.2 percent. Milk production in the first two months of this year lagged behind production in the same period last year by 26.2 liters or 13.4 percent.

Egg production declined 14.1 percent (13.4 percent in per-day calculation) compared with January. Compared with February 1992, it declined 23.1 million pieces or 17.0 percent. In the first two months, there were 37.8 million fewer eggs, or 13.4 percent, than last year.

Prices for agricultural products rose 7.3 percent in February compared to the same month last year. Prices for produce rose 3.9 percent, and livestock products 7.4 percent.

In freight transportation, 7.7 million tonnes of goods were transported in February, which was 0.2 percent more than in January. Since the beginning of 1993, 15.3 million tonnes of goods were transported, which is 24.3 percent less than in 1992 (of this, 10.2 percent was in railway transportation, 30.2 percent in river transportation, and 41.2 percent in road transportation).

Establishment of the Private Sector

There were 22,396 active economic entities registered according to the commercial code by the end of February. There were 424 more, that is, 1.9 percent, compared with January. Of the total number of registered enterprises, the private sector (domestic, foreign, and international) included 17,501 entities and their number rose 2.3 percent in February. Since the beginning of the year, their number rose 5.3 percent.

Some 2,537 entities were in public ownership and 1,863 in cooperatives.

The Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic registered 300,700 tradesmen at the end of February. Against January 1993, their number declined by 2,000, or 0.7 percent, which is roughly at the level reached by the end of 1992.

Regarding the number of organizations, the ingress of foreign capital caused their number to increase by 101, that is, 3.5 percent, to a total of 3,013 entities. Enterprises with foreign participation represent 17.2 percent of the private sector.

The breakdown of enterprises in the private sector (domestic, foreign, and international) is: 44.3 percent in the construction sector, 48.1 percent in the transportation of goods, and 71.3 percent in the consumer market (without services).

Dolgos Dissatisfied With Second Privatization Wave

AU1604133293 Prague CTK in English 0725 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 14 (CTK)—Privatization projects which have been entered for the second wave of the privatization process in Slovakia are of low quality, Slovak Privatization Minister Lubomir Dolgos said last night, referring to the conclusions drawn by the Slovak Economic Council.

The council will discuss the issue at a meeting of Slovak economic ministers on April 16.

Dolgos said that originally property worth about 210 million Slovak crowns (7 million USD) was scheduled for the privatization's second wave. After state farms and pharmacies were added to the list, the property amount involved now reaches some 250 million crowns (over 8 million USD). Asked by CTK if the property will be ready for privatization at the current pace of preparations, Dolgos answered: Perhaps we would not even live to see it. The pace must be changed, otherwise the government will not fulfill its program's goal, which is quick privatization.

The second wave of privatization is to start in Slovakia in late 1993, after property worth at least 50 billion Slovak crowns (1.7 billion USD) is prepared.

The first wave of coupon privatization, five rounds of which took place in the former Czechoslovakia from May 1992 to January 1993, involved property worth some 300 billion crowns (10 billion USD). Privatized were assets worth 278 billion crowns (9.3 billion USD), out of which over 70 billion crowns (3.4 billion USD) were paid for property in Slovakia.

Hard Currency Reserves Reportedly Dropping

AU1604175093 Prague CTK in English 1322 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 14 (CTK)—Slovakia's hard currency reserves are continuing to drop, Ivan Miklos, deputy chairman of the party of conservative democrats (skd) told a press conference today, adding that the Slovak koruna's devaluation is only a question of time.

The current volume of Slovakia's hard currency reserves cannot be defined accurately, as both the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Bank are deliberately keeping it a secret, which is, according to miklos, incompatible with the law.

Last week, Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka stated that the state hard currency reserves had decreased to about $20-25 million, while Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth later estimated them at ten times that amount.

Miklos said that in criticizing the course of privatization in Slovakia, Slovak Privatization Minister Lubomir Dolgos is forgetting that he himself bears the greatest share of responsibility for its snail's pace.

Miklos thinks that Slovakia's bad economic situation could be solved by the immediate reconsideration of a new strategy for the privatization process, by setting a realistic rate for the Slovak koruna and by the speedy adoption of a bankruptcy law.

In 1993, Slovakia is likely to experience further decline in both economic and social areas, Miklos stated. The current government's economic policy gives no reason for optimism about improvement of the situation, he added.

From statements by Slovak parliament's deputy Lubomir Fogas from the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) that the SDL would promote quicker privatization as well as more effective restrictive policy, Miklos draws the conclusion that the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) stands to the left of Weiss's party (SDL—former communists).

SKD Chairman Pavol Hagyari considers last Friday's meeting between the HZDS and SDL to be evidence of a silent coalition between the two parties. Though the SDL strives to criticize the government policies, at the same time it backs the government in all important measures and law adoptions, Hagyari emphasized.

When Slovak Prime Minister and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar and SDL Chairman Peter Weiss say that there exists a threat of rightist extremism, they only want to shift attention away from Slovakia's critical situation, in which the country finds itself due to their parties' policy, Hagyari charged.

More than by rightist extremism, Slovakia is endangered by the leftist dilettantism, Hagyari added.

The SKD was founded last December to unite advocates of the democratic right in Slovakia, after the right-wing parties, the Civic Democratic Union, the Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Party in Slovakia, failed in the June 1992 elections.

Environmental Agreement Signed With Poland

LD1604093493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0500 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Environment ministers of the Slovak Republic and Poland held talks in Stary Smokovec on 15 April. The subject of their meeting, which is to end today, is the two countries' joint course of action in the sphere of environmental protection. Pavol Sveton reports from the High Tatras.

[Sveton] Late in the night, Jozef Zlocha, environment minister of the Slovak Republic, and Zygmunt Hortmanowicz, minister of environmental protection of the Republic of Poland, signed a declaration on Slovak-Polish environmental cooperation.

They note in the declaration that they arrived at the conclusion that securing the ecological security of the two states' border and the elimination of mutual ecological threats are important elements of the two governments' policies. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Knazko Reacts to Accusation of Arms Deals

AU1604164793 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with former Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Stefan Hrcka; place and date not given: "I Have Not Conducted Any Transactions"]

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Meciar said that one of the reasons for dismissing Milan Knazko was that Knazko had begun meddling in arms deals, which is not within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry of the Slovak Republic. This is why our reporter Stefan Hrcka asked Knazko, who is taking a vacation in central Slovakia, for his opinion on the prime minister's statement.

[Knazko] I have never conducted any commercial transactions. According to the amendment—which was passed last year—to the National Council of the Slovak Republic law on the organization of ministries and other central bodies of the state administration, I was responsible for foreign economic relations. It was only in December that Meciar hammered out a new interpretation of this amendment, so that since then it has been the Ministry of Economy that is responsible for foreign economic relations. During my talks with our foreign partners, I only helped establish contacts with enterprises. During the discussions about specific transactions, only directors of the relevant enterprises were present. On 6 February, at a meeting of the Republican Committee of the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement, Meciar admitted that he himself stopped this trade. As a National Council deputy, I will call upon Vladimir Meciar at the next session of Parliament to explain why a deal amounting to several million dollars—a deal for the Martin and Dubnica factories—has been halted. When I return to Bratislava, I will present documents to you, precise notes from meetings—including names and dates, and the text of conclusions.

[Hrcka] Prime Minister Meciar told Radiozurnal yesterday that there would be no orders anyway, just commissions....

[Knazko] Any suspicions and allusions about commissions—or anything similar—are big lies. By the way, have you ever heard of a commission without a deal?

[Hrcka] So, what is your general opinion about Meciar's statement?

[Knazko] Vladimir Meciar has come to believe that he embodies Slovakia, he identifies himself with Slovakia, and whoever is of a different—or even opposite—opinion is, according to him, anti-Slovak. However, it is not Slovakia that is exposed to danger, not at all, but the demagogic and neo-Bolshevik opinions of Mr. Meciar. Mr. Meciar's declaration, that since October, I have been in collusion with someone to cause destruction and destabilization, are reminiscent of the vocabulary of the normalization period [the period after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia] and the 50's. Why has Vladimir Meciar not documented his statements about the non-functioning of the Foreign Ministry of the Slovak Republic even though I have invited him to present factual arguments in Parliament or the government? It was because he did not have any truthful arguments and he could not have me dismissed for incompetence. If you want to verify the accuracy of my statements, I recommend that you contact the directors of the relevant companies, the former state secretary of the Foreign Ministry of the Slovak Republic, the former chief of the ministry's office, the directors of individual departments at the ministry, and also the former federal minister of foreign affairs, who was responsible, in connection with the division of the federation, for coordinating the six expert commissions. Now, Vladimir Meciar is abusing the situation, after several deputies have realized his scheming, and he believes that he can intimidate them. The government should deal with problems other than internal matters of the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement—problems that our people have to face, social and economic problems, problems related to education, health care, culture, etc.

I would like to say that I do not envy the minister who is expected to create a positive image of the country abroad, if the prime minister is a liar. In democratic countries, they resign over things like this.

[The interview is followed by an"on"-signed report:]

[Engineer Karol Droppa, deputy director of the Department of Special Production at the Ministry of Economics of the Slovak Republic, said the following regarding this matter: "It ensues unequivocally from the law on central bodies that foreign trade is within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Economics of the Slovak Republic. It is true, however, that a group of people who were active, some time ago, at the Ministry of International Relations, negatively influenced the efforts of Slovak arms factories to sell everything that could be sold—which could have helped the companies. Unfortunately, there were no experts with expertise in this field. It is no secret that between the Foreign Ministry and our ministry there was disagreement over that at that time. Their activity was odd, since the Foreign Ministry is a sort of political ministry, and should not meddle in matters such as arms deals. The Foreign Ministry should create foreign policy, not conduct business. I would not personally blame Mr. Knazko, but rather those who pushed him into it."]

Finance Minister Comments on IMF

LD1604133493 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] According to the finance minister, Hungary has been deprived of preferential credits worth $700 million because it has not managed to conclude another agreement with the IMF. Ivan Szabo was speaking at the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions. Kata Peli Nagy reports.

[Peli Nagy] We can easily become a second-class borrower if we do not conclude an agreement with the IMF. It would increase the costs of future international credit by at least $200 million since our credit would have much higher interest. Due to the delay, we have already been deprived of good credits worth $700 million. Therefore, the opinion of the IMF is decisive, and bearing in mind this fact, Ivan Szabo is going to go to Washington with great hopes next week. He said the agreement has essentially two conditions: on the one hand, the question whether a clear picture can be given of our financial and economic situation; and on the other hand, whether the IMF can be convinced that the budget deficit is serving sensible purposes. Although a deficit even bigger than hitherto could be financed from internal resources, it is not worth it because, according to the finance minister, more money should not be taken away from the economy. Ivan Szabo urges stricter steps in credit consolidation as well. In accordance with the opinion of international experts, he is of the view that far more dubious credits should have been withdrawn from the banks. Although it would have cost more by 55 billion forints, it would be worth doing. Since if we do not take more radical steps to develop the economy today, it means that, as Ivan Szabo quoted a former leading left-wing politician, we might really eat the hen that could have laid golden eggs.

Croatia's Mesic Urges Action

LD1804105493 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Interview with Stipe Mesic, speaker of the Croatian Parliament, by correspondent Vilmos Kovacs, in Budapest during Mesic's two-day official visit; Mesic in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Kovacs] Are you satisfied with your visit to Hungary?

[Mesic] We came for an official but friendly visit. We came to the conclusion that our opinion is the same about the war raging on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, most of all in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both sides have the opinion that it is not an ethnic, religious, or civil war, but an aggression, against which action must be taken. The world has to choose an action that will halt the aggressor and encourage the followers of a peaceful solution.

[Kovacs] You mentioned action. Does this mean war?

[Mesic] No, action cannot just mean war, action can mean air blockades and it is also action if international forces are deployed at the borders of Serbia and Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, to cut off the supply lines of the Serb forces in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This would be an action without fight because nobody would be so stupid in Serbia as to attack international forces.

[Kovacs] However, some western politicians are saying now that the arms embargo against Bosnia should be lifted.

[Mesic] This should have been done long ago. Now that more than 200,000 people lost their lives in the war, it is difficult to say to the victim to go and defend itself. It is time that those who earlier decided to bar those attacked from defending themselves should now come to the rescue of the Bosnians. With this they became accomplices. But regardless of this, to arm the Bosnians should only be a last resort.

[Kovacs] Can the war flare up again in Croatia, where the UN forces have not thus far managed to carry out their obligations?

[Mesic] The United Nations extended the stationing of the blue helmets in Croatia by a few months. These forces only accomplished part of their task. They stopped the frontal clashes between the Serb Army and the Croatian soldiers, however, they did not disarm the paramilitary units, did not control the artillery, and did not make it possible for the refugees to return. Besides this they also failed to line up along the border of Serbia and Croatia. They should have done all this, but they did not. So if they remain in Croatia, they have to carry out the tasks they were entrusted with.

[Kovacs] The UN role in Yugoslavia depends on the position of Russia in the world organization. How can the Russian referendum influence the Balkan situation ?

[Mesic] I think we pay far too much attention to this. The possible fall of Yeltsin will not have great effect on the Balkan events. The Russian crisis was created by other factors, thus it is only deception to refer events there to our problems.

Czech, German Ministers Discuss Migration

LD1604115393 Prague CTK in English 1133 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 16 (CTK)—Czech and German Interior Ministers Jan Ruml and Rudolf Seiters met here today to discuss problems concerning the granting of asylum and illegal migration, the Czech Ministry's spokesman Jan Subrt told CTK.

He said that Seiters had arrived in Prague for a one-day visit earlier in the day. Although the meeting has been agreed in a hurry, there is no secret about it, Subrt said. The ministers have just found time for each other, he added.

The problem of asylum granting was last discussed by the two countries' officials in Bonn March 18, when Czech and German Deputy Interior Ministers Martin Fendrych and Johannes Vocking met. Following their meeting, Seiters said it would soon be possible to sign a just and mutually responsible agreement between Germany and the Czech Republic on solving the refugee problem.

With Germany's planned new asylum law envisioning the return of illegal migrants to the country from which they arrived in Germany, the Czech republic, like other Central European countries, feels threatened by a possible influx of refugees from poorer countries to the east.

Suchocka Welcomes Israeli Prime Minister

LD1904092893 Warsaw PAP in English 0857 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 19—Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka welcomed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin during a ceremony held at the front of the seat of the Council of Ministers on Monday morning.

Prime Minister Rabin arrived in Warsaw to attend commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the uprising at the Warsaw ghetto.

The welcoming ceremony is to be followed by Polish-Israeli plenary talks.

Losses From EC Livestock, Meat Ban Reported

AU1604175293 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Exporters Count Losses"]

[Excerpt] Following the EC countries' imposition of a ban on the import of livestock and meat from Eastern and Central Europe including Poland and a similar response from the Polish Government, all trade in these products has come to a halt. On Tuesday [13 April], no vehicles carrying livestock presented papers for completing customs formalities at border crossing points.

Meanwhile, exporters of agricultural produce are beginning to count their losses. Poland's monthly losses as a result of these protectionist barriers will amount to at least between $40 million and $50 million. However, these losses will be spread over many individuals and companies, they will be incurred by individual farmers, processing enterprises, and export firms. For example, the Animex Company estimates that it will lose $601,000 monthly as a result of the ban on importing meat to the EC, and the suspension of exports of livestock will mean the loss of $1,044,000 a week. [passage omitted]

Political Sympathies of South Africa's Poles

AU1604174393 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Apr 93 p 1

['wj'-signed commentary]

[Text] A large number of Poles live in the Republic of South Africa [RSA]. Many Polish immigrants, especially those who came to Africa at the beginning of the 1980's, benefited from the "blessings" of the last years of apartheid. So, it is understandable that they should be ill-disposed toward the reforms that are intended to deprive them of their privileged position or at least make the retention of that position difficult. The prospect of power being assumed by the black majority and the experiences of other African states do not induce optimism among the immigrants who have managed to settle here, start families, and become accustomed to a new country.

The overwhelming majority of Poles who have been settled in the RSA for generations support the policy reform being pursued by President De Klerk and see it as providing the best guarantee of security for themselves and for the country. On the other hand, many of the Poles living in the RSA who arrived in the emigration wave at the beginning of the 1980's have become supporters of white extremist organizations such as the Afrikaaner Resistance Movement, whose activists parade about in khaki uniforms sporting stylized swastikas on their sleeves. The Polish sympathizers of racist movements in the RSA are—as is usually the case—holier than the pope. Political views are a question of personal beliefs and experiences. The danger is that the price for the actions of the Polish defenders of the Afrikaaner state might have to be paid by all Poles living in the RSA, who—according to the principle of collective responsibility—the blacks might consider to be their main enemies.

Melescanu Opposed to Armed Intervention in FRY

LD1704190193 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] The Balkans, which in 1914 lit the fuse of the World War I, may thus blow up again. The neighboring countries are very afraid and do not conceal it. On this point the Romanian foreign minister, who this afternoon made a technical stopover in Spain, called for caution when it comes to talking about intervention:

[Begin recording] [Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Teodor Viorel Malescanu in Romanian with superimposed Spanish translation] It is true that the embargo and the diplomatic steps have not had positive results, but Romania believes that a military intervention or intervention with forces against the Serbians would not resolve the present situation. I believe that, like in the Persian Gulf conflict, an armed intervention is a very dangerous and unrealistic game. We prefer an understanding and for the forces in conflict in the former Yugoslavia to agree on a minimum of solutions, based on the Vance-Owen peace plan, and the continuation of the economic embargo. [end recording]

EC Official Discusses Cooperation With Iliescu

AU1604174893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1514 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/4/1993—In Bucharest on a one-day visit, Hans van den Broek, vice president of the EC Council and in charge with foreign policy relations, was received Friday, April 16 at the Cotroceni Palace (seat of Romanian Presidency) by Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

In a press statement at the end of the interview Hans van den Broek expressed hope that the association agreement between Romania and the EC, signed in February 1993, would mark the beginning of a new age of closer cooperation between Romania and the EC. Cooperation is envisaged on the political, economic and cultural planes, in order to include Romania in the European reconstruction process.

Mr. Van den Broek said that both Romania and the European Communities had an interest to maintain peace and stability in the area.

Friday, April 16 Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu met during a work lunch with Hans van den Broek, vice president of the EC Commission and in charge with foreign policy relations, who is on a one-day visit to Bucharest.

Aspects were discussed of the development and extension to all fields of economic and commercial relations between Romania and the EC countries.

Meets With Members of Parliament

AU1704133093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1702 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/4/1993—Friday, April 16 in the afternoon, at the Romanian Senate's headquarters, the delegation headed by Hans van den Broek, vice president of the EC Commission and in charge of foreign policy relations, met with members of the Romanian parliamentary delegation at the European Parliament.

The Romanian Parliament members underscored the national interest of political, economic and military integration of Romania in the EC structures.

The guest said he appreciated quite a lot the evolutions in Romania in political democratisation and setting up a state of law, the desire to harmonize Romanian legislation with the Western European one. He said his delegation would propose the Ministers' Council to extend dialogue with Romania for a closer political cooperation, not necessarily because Romania has a particularly important geo-strategic position for the continent, but mainly because a political and economic cooperation was one of the principles for the new Europe's construction.

Mr. Van den Broek also appreciated Romania's sacrifices in order to enforce the embargo against Yugoslavia, mentioning that support would be given to the Romanian-EC interparliamentary contacts and to Romania's integration in the European structures in general. Among the EC's support actions he counted a transport of wheat for Romania in May.

Authorities Receive U.S. Patrol Boats

AU1704150393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1314 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/4/1993—In the series of actions to strengthen the application of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro decided by the UN Security Council, the government of the United States donated Romania three patrol boats.

The ceremony of their taking over by the general direction of customs in Romania was held on Saturday, 17 April, in the port of Giurgiu, in the presence of an U.S. delegation including Senator Dennis DeConcini and Congressman Bill Richardson [names as received], as well as the ambassador of the United States in Bucharest, John R. Davis Jr. [passage omitted]

Florin Georgescu, minister of state and minister of finance, assessed the action as a concrete step taken by the U.S. in materially supporting Romania which was meant to contribute to an increase of control efficiency of the Romanian customs authorities for the observance of the UN Security Council resolutions [on the embargo against the FRY].

The minister of finance handed over a letter to the ambassador of the United States to Romania, on behalf of Romania's prime minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu, addressed to the U.S. Vice President Al Gore, in which he thanks for the donation and expresses his firm pledge to observe the resolutions of the UN Security Council, as well as the wish for a peaceful settlement to be found to the conflict. [passage omitted]

These patrol boats carry modern Boston Whaler detection and communication equipment, are nine meters long and their maximum speed, depending on weather conditions, is of 80 kilometers per hour, superior to that of similar boats in Romania.

With these three boats, the number of [Danube] patrol boats in Romania goes up to five.

Unions Demands Addressed to Government Listed

AU1804192093 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Apr 93 p 1

["T.D."-signed article: "The Prime Minister Is Misleading the People"]

[Text] Our national television network saw to it that everyone sees Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu condemning the trade unions, especially those belonging to the Fratia trade union confederation. There is no sense in repeating what he said, but the premise from which the whole discussion began was false.

Therefore, we decided to publish the text actually printed on the Fratia union confederation's flier which the premier flourished throughout the program:

— The liberalization of salaries by the elimination of reference salary funds.
— The proportion between salaries and prices should correspond to at least 80 percent of that proportion in October 1990.
— A moderation of price increases.
— Negotiations to be held with the unions concerning the establishment of minimum wages valid for the entire economy.
— Guarantees that those minimum wages be actually paid.
— The allocation of appropriate funds from the state budget for health, education, agriculture, and culture.
— Jobs for the unemployed.
— Real social protection for the unemployed, the youth, and the retired (increased pensions.)
— Guarantees that the agreements signed by company unions, union federations, or union confederations and employers are to be observed.
— Put a stop to bankrupting [state-owned] commercial companies intentionally [to buy them cheaper as private owners]; concrete steps to drastically fight corruption.
— Measures to fight crime effectively, including new laws that stipulate much harsher penalties.

All our readers can now judge for themselves. Nicolae Vacaroiu read aloud and then tendentiously commented on things entirely different from what was actually printed on the flier.

Unions Postpone Strike to 5 May

AU1704133193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1628 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/4/1993—The general strike previously scheduled by the trade unions for April 20 has been postponed for May 5 in order to concentrate the whole trade union force of Romania, a news conference held in Bucharest on April 16 was announced by the leaders of trade union confederations "Alfa," "Fratia," National Trade Union Bloc (BNS), Trade Union Confederation of the Workers in Agriculture and Foodstuffs (CERES), "Univers" and Federative Chamber of the Physicians.

At the conference, a number of three open letters were addressed respectively to the president of the Senate, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and to Romania's president who were asked to intervene in the settlement of the collective work conflict between unions, employers and government. President Ion Iliescu was especially asked to make a statement to all mass-media (press, radio, television) on his position regarding the trade unions.

Presidency Calls on NATO To 'Neutralize' Aggression

AU1604194893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] We have just received a copy of the letter that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government sent out to the U.N. Security Council requesting that an extraordinary session be immediately called to discuss the latest developments in Srebrenica, and how to prevent the massacre of 80,000 civilians, which could develop into [words indistinct]. The situation demands (?urgent measures).

After a serious consideration of all the causes and consequences of the imminent fall of Srebrenica, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government have come to the conclusion that it represents a total failure of all the efforts by the international community so far to end the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That would [word indistinct] crime never seen before, and render the peace talks nonsensical, while the Security Council is [word indistinct] an accomplice to the Srebrenica and Bosnia-Herzegovina tragedy. At the same time the criminals would be given the go-ahead to commit new crimes in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are already under constant fire from the aggressor's arms.

It is with deep bitterness that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government again warn that, despite all the Security Council resolutions and the ruling on temporary measures issued by the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the only language the aggressor from Serbia and Montenegro understands is still that of force, and therefore it is only force that can be successful in confronting him.

With all due respect to all the peace-making efforts so far by the United Nations, and particularly to the Vance-Owen plan, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Government request from the Security Council to endorse the Vance-Owen plan, instead of trying to persuade the aggressor to accept it, and to decide urgently the following:

First, UNPROFOR should immediately take on responsibility for protecting the lives of the civilian population of Srebrenica;

Second, the mandate of NATO should be changed to allow it to neutralize the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina with all means available, in accordance with Chapter Seven of the U.N. Charter;

Third, Bosnia-Herzegovina should be exempt from the Security Council Resolution 713 on the embargo on the import of arms;

Fourth, an omnibus resolution should be adopted which would introduce already specified sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. These should come into force at once;

Fifth, UNPROFOR troops should be deployed along the entire border between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro. These troops should have an extended mandate in accordance with Chapter Two of the U.N. Charter.

Cease-Fire Accord Provides for Casualties

AU1704200093 Paris AFP in English 1933 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 17 (AFP)—The commander of Serb forces attacking the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica agreed Saturday to a cease-fire there from midnight (2200 GMT) in talks with the head of the Bosnian army, the United Nations said.

The two commanders were continuing to discuss "demilitarisation" of the area and "freedom of movement" there.

Those appeared to be a code-words for the disarming of the outnumbered and outgunned troops of the Bosnian army defending the Moslem inhabitants of the town and villages nearby in exchange for evacuation of civilians.

The two commanders, General Ratko Mladic, the head of the Bosnian Serb forces, and General Sefer Halilovic, the chief of the Bosnian army, met face-to-face for the first time in the year-long war on the neutral territory of Sarajevo airport, controlled by the French Foreign Legion.

After four hours of talks, they reached agreement in principle, according to Shannon Boyd, chief spokeswoman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on three points:

—The ceasefire from midnight;
—The evacuation by helicopter of some 400 wounded and sick;
—The entry into Srebrenica by 11:00 a.m. Sunday (0900 GMT) of a company of Canadian U.N. infantrymen—130 to 150 men.

After a break for what Boyd described as "lunch," they were to continue to discuss demilitarisation and "freedom of movement"—an apparent reference to plans by the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to truck virtually all women, children and elderly men there to the comparative safety of Tuzla, a much bigger Bosnian government-held town 90 kilometres (60 miles) to the northwest.

A senior administrator in Srebrenica said there were 25,000 people in the town itself and 70,000 in the enclave, including nearby villages.

The meeting came against a backdrop of continued heavy Serb shelling of the town, with radio operators reporting bodies—either alive or dead—lying on the streets, but unreachable because of the shrapnel flying around.

It came a day after the U.N. Security Council demanded the creation of a "safe area" around Srebrenica which according to UNPROFOR officials has not yet been translated into any change in their mandate there.

"In the first instance," said Boyd, those evacuated on the helicopters would be "mainly civilians."

"Discussions will continue ... on the technical details of demilitarisation in the Srebrenica area.

"Everybody seems very interested in reaching some form of a finalised agreement today."

Demilitarisation, she said, meant only U.N. personnel would be able to carry arms in the "defined area."

The definition of that area, she said, was one of the details under discussion.

The negotiations were being chaired by Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the UNPROFOR commander for all of ex-Yugoslavia.

Also present were French General Philippe Morillon, the UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jose Maria Mendiluce, the UNHCR envoy for ex-Yugoslavia, other senior U.N. personnel, and senior aides to the two commanders.

Karadzic Threatens Withdrawal From Peace Talks

AU1804140493 Paris AFP in English 1025 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Pale, Bosnia, April 18 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb leader Sunday threatened to pull out of the Yugoslavia peace talks in retaliation to new U.N. sanctions as peace mediator Lord Owen called the tougher measures against Belgrade "not enough."

"I suppose our assembly will withdraw us from the peace conference," said Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic about a future meeting of the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament April 23 and 24.

"This is no longer negotiation but imposed solutions," Karadzic said of the sanctions.

The United Nations Security Council Saturday night voted to cut off ex-Yugoslavia with tougher sanctions that will go into effect April 26.

The Bosnian Serb assembly rejected April 3 the Vance-Owen peace plan, brokered by Lord Owen for the European Community and Cyrus Vance for the United Nations. The plan would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semi-autonomous provinces.

Karadzic said he would recommend that the Bosnian Serb assembly reject it again. "Honestly, no," I cannot back this plan, he said.

"I think it is neither viable nor doable", he said adding: "We should find acceptable solutions for all the parties, that do not require the deployment of 500,000 soldiers to apply it."

"We will now tell them what are the threats against us and what are our possibilities," Karadzic said.

The Bosnian Serb leader attended an Orthodox Easter religious service Sunday and was scheduled to meet later with United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commanders General Lars-Eric Wahlgren and General Philippe Morillon.

"We will discuss a global cease-fire controlled by United Nations monitors," Karadzic said. The Bosnian Serb leader said he may also discuss the installation of "control lines and telephone lines between the belligerents" and a control that would permit reporting "each violation and to stop it."

Karadzic called "good news" the surrender agreement reached between Srebrenica's Moslem defenders and the Bosnian Serb forces. "The Moslem forces will turn in their arms to UNPROFOR in the presence of our officers while the sick and wounded are evacuated," he said.

Lord Owen, speaking on BBC television Sunday, said he had "grave doubts" that the new sanctions would pressure the Serbs to sign the peace plan and said military measures might be needed.

"Sanctions will not be enough for the Serbs," Owen said. "They are cocky, confident that (...) the West will not intervene. We ought to demonstrate we are going to pressure them by every possible means to sign the peace plan.

Owen said the Western powers should consider adopting measures that would destroy the Serbs' supply lines. "The Serb army is fuelled through the frontiers of Serbia-Montenegro," Owen said. "That has to stop."

Expects 'Limited Strike'

LD1704213393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2032 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, said this evening that he has the impression that "a limited strike against Serb positions or tighter sanctions against the Serbs are being prepared," SRNA reports.

The agency carried Karadzic's statement for Channel S of Serb Television [from Pale] in which he described the whole anti-Serb campaign as "the decline of the international community and the decline of the media."

The president of the Serb Republic stressed that the Canadian Battalion, which set off for Srebrenica today, was held up in front of Muslim positions and did not even come into contact with Serb forces, but that "the

unprecedented media campaign, spread among the international public, is trying to accuse the Serbs of preventing the 'blue helmets' from passing through."

The president of the Serb republic reiterated that the Serb army has no intention of entering Srebrenica, and that its task is to defend Serb villages, in the course of which it has suffered losses.

"Concerning the cease-fire, we sent a proposal to Clinton today suggesting that observers be deployed in all units along the demarcation line in order to control the cease-fire," Karadzic said and expressed the fear that the Muslim side might not accept the proposal, SRNA reports from Pale.

On Srebrenica Cease-Fire Agreement

AU1704211793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, by Momcilo Boskovic; place not given—live]

[Text] [Boskovic] Good evening, Mr. Karadzic!

[Karadzic] Good evening!

[Boskovic] We have just received a TANJUG report that the commanders of the Serbian and the Muslim forces in former Bosnia-Herzegovina reached in principle today a cease-fire agreement for the Srebrenica area. The agencies have been reporting this, quoting a statement by UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] official Shannon Boyd. Boyd said that no document had been signed, but that the commanders of the two warring sides agreed in principle that today, at midnight local time, that a cease-fire should begin. According to her, the commanders of the Serbian and Muslim forces will meet again this evening and work out all the details of this agreement. What do you say to this?

[Karadzic] I have not contacted General Mladic [commander of the Serbian troops] yet, but he has the authority and our full support pursue peace for every part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially around Srebrenica, bearing in mind that unbelievable lies about the situation in Srebrenica are in the air today.

All the Western media are lying today, even the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is pushing for the resolution against Serbia, that is to say, Yugoslavia, that was supposed to be discussed on 26 April, to be passed tonight. It is evident that a big game is being played around the world and Srebrenica is only small change in all of this. We wonder why France is rushing forward with a resolution that will definitely harm the position of Boris Yeltsin. Just as the West would no longer even think of Yeltsin, they are simply in a great hurry to realize their objectives.

[Boskovic] As this report claims, the UNPROFOR representative also stated that the representatives of the two sides agreed that a contingent of 130 to 150 Canadian UNPROFOR troops will be allowed to enter Srebrenica by 1100 [0900 GMT] on 18 April.

[Karadzic] I believe that the Canadian battalion will be able to enter even earlier if it wishes to, as the presence of UN observers—and that is precisely the function in which they are coming—is in the best Serbian interest. Only after we have observers on the front lines will we be able to prove to the world that we are not bombing civilian targets, and that these are all crafty tricks and propaganda lies from the Muslim side.

[Boskovic] The two sides agreed in principle to establish an airborne service that would facilitate the evacuation of sick and injured people from Srebrenica.

[Karadzic] All of this had been approved earlier by our side. The other side either misused it or did not pursue it fully. Simply, our mere inspection requirement seems to have been obstructing this service. We must carry out inspections because we suspect that some individuals in UNPROFOR are supplying our enemies with arms and ammunition.

[Boskovic] Do you have any information about what is going on in Tuzla? It was announced that several hundred Serbs will leave the town. We have received no news about this.

[Karadzic] The policy of the Muslim leadership toward the Serbs in the towns that will, according to the Vance-Owen plan, go to the Muslims is absolutely uncomprehensible to us. Why are they torturing 18,000 Serbs in Tuzla and holding them as hostages? This is not only in breach of the Geneva Convention, but is unreasonable and unacceptable from a humane point of view. We hope that all the Serbs from Sarajevo and Tuzla will be allowed to travel freely.

[Boskovic] Would you like to conclude by saying anything else?

[Karadzic] Yes, bearing in mind that France, through its Foreign Ministry, launched the lie about our conquest of Srebrenica, and bearing in mind all the great lies in the media and a hastily convened UN Security Council session at which they will try to pass a resolution against Serbia, we sent a fax message to the UN Security Council chairman and to Yuri Vorontsev [Russian ambassador to the United Nations], asking them to inform the UN Security Council about the actual situation and stating that we will cooperate with the resolution already passed on Srebrenica. We informed them that we are not bombing Srebrenica nor will we in the future, that we did not enter and will not enter Srebrenica, and that we will only stay in the Serbian villages around Srebrenica.

If they hide this fax message and do not inform the UN Security Council, then it will truly become evident that they can do whatever they want and are not ashamed of anything.

[Bosnjak] Thank you for the interview.

[Karadzic] It was a pleasure.

Will Not Enter Srebrenica

AU1704153893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, by Radio Belgrade correspondent Momcilo Boskovic on 17 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Boskovic] Good day, Mr. Karadzic!

[Karadzic] Good day!

[Boskovic] We would like to hear directly from you what is going on in Srebrenica and in Sarajevo today. We have been receiving contradictory reports in our newsroom, as some state that the Serbian Army has entered Srebrenica, while others say it was the peacekeeping troops who entered the town. Please, give us the correct information.

[Karadzic] The Serbian forces did not enter Srebrenica and have no intention of doing so, especially because so many civilians are present there. For three whole months we have endured the Muslim offensive in eastern Bosnia that has cost us nearly 1,500 lives. Our counteroffensive, however, provoked a massive negative reaction by the international community, as is usually the case when the Serbs actively defend themselves.

We have no intention of taking Srebrenica. We must counter and neutralize the Muslim armed forces, however, so that they can no longer strike against us and inflict losses in this region. Our troops are in the vicinity of Srebrenica, and since last night they have been attacked by Muslims on all sides. Namely, the international community is covering the back of the Muslim side, and the Muslim side is provoking us by attacking fiercely on the assumption that we must not defend ourselves. We are, naturally, defending ourselves passively on the lines, and refraining from taking any offensive actions.

Regarding [Sarajevo] airport, General Mladic [commander of the Serbian Republic Army] is still there. Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Muslim forces, is probably also there in the presence of the UN Protective Force. I believe that they are holding talks, as they have been at the airport since 1100 [0900 GMT].

[Boskovic] What outcome do you expect in Srebrenica?

[Karadzic] In the light of the resolution that was passed on the basis of incorrect information by the French Foreign Ministry that we had conquered Srebrenica, I believe that Srebrenica will be pacified to a degree with the help of the United Nations, and the civilians, who are not at all endangered by our side, will be protected. Let me remind you that nearly all resolutions so far have been passed on the basis of false reports—this applies to the sanctions passed after the killing in the bread queue, which was committed by the Muslim side, and all others until the recent shelling of Srebrenica that was not committed by the Serbian forces.

I believe that the Serbian forces will remain a stone's throw from Srebrenica in a passive posture, defending the Serbian villages and the Serbian communes of Bratunac and Skelani, while the United Nations will carry out pacification operations within this perimeter and secure the protection of civilians and the evacuation of casualties and civilians who wish to leave.

[Bosnjak] Mr. Karadzic, how would you comment on the statement by Lord Owen calling for military engagement in Bosnia?

[Karadzic] I believe that Lord Owen has disqualified himself as a negotiator in these talks. He has even lost the aura of objectivity, although we know that he never was unbiased and that he drew maps that favor the greater Croatia. Now he has shown his real face and is behaving in an anti-Serbian manner, so his behavior endangers further proceedings of the conference.

[Bosnjak] Mr. Karadzic, thank you for this information that you have given to us just before the beginning of this newscast.

Reiterates No Entry Position

LD1704033793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0225 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—In a statement for SRNA, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], said that Serb units had not entered Srebrenica and had no such intentions.

Responding to reports from some Western countries saying that Bosnian Serbs had entered Srebrenica yesterday, Karadzic said that Serbs wanted to avoid the suffering of civilians in Srebrenica by all means and added that, "in accordance with the agreement, Serb forces near Srebrenica are waiting for the Muslim units to surrender their weapons to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members."

According to Karadzic, the Serb side wants a pacification of Srebrenica that would enable the inhabitants to live peacefully in the town or to be evacuated, if they wished to do so.

Hints at Serb-Initiated Peace Plan

LD1704194693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1809 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Novi Sad, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, told Radio Novi Sad today that the Bosnian Serbs "will soon come out with a peace initiative which will be hard to reject, and which will lead to an absolute cease-fire on all battlefields in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the monitoring of the cease-fire by the United Nations."

Assessing that the latest Security Council resolution is only another one in a series of unjust and unjustified resolutions, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs said that the resolution, as all those before it, is based on wrong premises because, he added, Serb forces have not entered and do not want to enter Srebrenica.

Karadzic recalled that a similar thing happened with the bread line massacre [in Sarajevo] which was caused by the Muslims, while it still served the purpose of imposing sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Karadzic described as very wrong the claims that the Serbs have been launching offensives. "We are in a counteroffensive because after three months, which is how long the Muslim offensive has been going on, we had to protect our people and our villages. Of course, we failed to protect many of them," he said.

Karadzic stressed that the suggestion that the Bosnian Serbs obtain arms from Yugoslavia is wrong. Enough weapons have remained in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, after all, all sides acquire them from abroad, the president of the Serb Republic said.

Ganic Calls For Bombing of Serbian Positions

LD1704134193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Our colleague Nada Sarijas asked Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Vice President Ejup Ganic to make a statement on the situation in Srebrenica and decisions by the international community.

[Begin Ganic recording] The United Nations has taken same actions, but I simply have nothing else to say but that the conscience of mankind is now being put to the test in Srebrenica. Let us hope the international public is not going to turn its back, and that it will halt these criminals.

Of course, we wish to save every life in any way possible, and the like, but can the international community accept the ethnic cleansing? At the moment they have 50 bombers over Bosnia- Herzegovina; they can stop the aggressor through a single order. But if they decide in favor of ethnic cleansing, to remove the population from that town by ethnic cleansing, then what does it mean? Why don't they activate that mighty machinery that is already airborne carrying that combat load? Why don't they bomb that bridge on the Drina River, which fresh paramilitary troops from Serbia and new units of the former Yugoslav People's Army keep crossing? Why don't they destroy that bridge near Bratunac as a first step? [end recording]

Mladic-Halilovic Meeting at Airport Begins

LD1704114893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Half an hour ago, military delegations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the aggressor's side arrived at Sarajevo airport, as did UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] chief command representatives for former Yugoslavia. Our country's delegation is led by Chief of the General Staff Sefer Halilovic. His deputies—Colonels Jovan Divjak and Stjepan Siber—are also attending the talks. The delegation of the aggressor's side is led by a criminal, General Ratko Mladic. The meeting is chaired by Gen. Lars-Eric Wahlgren, UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia, in the presence of Gen. Philippe Morillon; Cedric Thornberry, UNPROFOR director of Civil Affairs; and Jose Maria Mendiluce, UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] special envoy. It is not yet known in what form the meeting will take place—whether everyone will be sitting at the same table or whether participants will be in separate rooms. The main issue is the situation in Srebrenica and the mandate of the blue helmets in this area in the light of UN Security Council Resolution 819—adopted in New York last night.

Authorities Block Roads Until Wounded Flown Out

AU1904102693 Paris AFP in English 1011 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 19 (AFP)—Authorities in Srebrenica are blocking the evacuation by road of able-bodied residents until helicopters have evacuated all wounded, a U.N. official said Monday [19 April]. [passage omitted]

UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler sid a nine-truck convoy fron Belgrade was taking 70 tonnes of aid into Srebrenica Monday, but would return empty.

Convoys in central Bosnia—and those arriving from a base at Metkovic, in southern Croatia—were blocked meanwhile by continued fighting between Bosnian Croat forces and the mainly Moslem Bosnian army in a number of areas, Kessler said.

UNPROFOR Official Confirms 'Major Offensive'

AU1704160093 Paris AFP in English 1535 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Zagreb, April 17 (AFP)—Serb forces Saturday stepped up their assault against the Moslem town of Srebrenica, U.N. peacekeepers here said, quoting military observers in the enclave.

"It is a major offensive," an official of the U.N. Protection Force said on condition of anonymity.

The east and southwest of the town, under siege for a year, were under heavy tank fire and artillery shells were hitting the center of the city, the official said.

One shell hit the building where 12 U.N. observers are stationed, the official said. There was no word on casualties.

Small arms fire can be heard a kilometer or two (about a mile) from the eastern Bosnian city, the official said.

The report appeared to confirm claims received in Sarajevo by a ham radio operator in Srebrenica that Serb forces were attacking from all sides.

UNPROFOR Pass Zvornik En Route to Srebrenica

LD1804131793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1248 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 18 (TANJUG)—A Canadian battalion of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for the former Yugoslavia passed around ten a.m. local time (0800 GMT) on Sunday through Zvornik on its way towards Srebrenica to monitor the latest ceasefire in that Moslem enclave in the east of war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The cease-fire was declared in the night between Saturday and Sunday by the commanders of the Bosnian Serb and Moslem forces, Ratko Mladic and Sefer Halilovic, and it came into force early on Sunday.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reports that the Canadian contingent consists of 145 troops in a convoy of 22 armoured personnel carriers and 19 support vehicles.

Citing a statement by the Bosnian Serb Army command in Zvornik, SRNA reports that the air corridor between Srebrenica and Tuzla is expected to be reopened on Sunday. Tuzla is a Moslem-controlled town where the Moslems from Srebrenica should be evacuated if they wish so.

Under the cease-fire agreement, the Canadian battalion will monitor the cease-fire, supervise the evacuation of civilians from Srebrenica and take control of Moslem weapons as part of the plan on the demilitarisation of the town, which was also signed last night.

Canadians Move Toward Srebrenica

LD1804111693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1102 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 18 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb forces on Sunday allowed Canadian U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops to head for Srebrenica, Moslem enclave in the Serb-controlled territory in eastern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

REUTERS reported on Sunday that the Canadians were to monitor the latest ceasefire in the Srebrenica region signed by Bosnian Serb and Moslem Army Commanders General Ratko Mladic and Sefer Halilovic late Saturday.

British news agency reported that the force of 145 men would monitor the evacuation of 30,000 Moslem civilians from Srebrenica and would collect weapons from Moslem forces, which is part of the plan on the demilitarization of Srebrenica, also agreed late Saturday.

UNHCR Convoy Turns Back Despite Assurances

LD1704134793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Zvornik, Bratunac, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Of the promised 50 trucks of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] which were supposed to evacuate those Muslim civilians wanting to leave Srebrenica for Tuzla, only nine arrived in Zvornik this morning, but the convoy turned back, crossing over to the right bank of the Drina River at about 1400.

The usual checking of the load, which was carried out in the vicinity of Zvornik, revealed that one truck was carrying sacks with sand intended for preparing parapets along with sacks of flour.

Five trucks were carrying humanitarian aid for Srebrenica, and four were empty.

The checking procedure was thorough, and this angered UNHCR members, who announced, even before 1200, that the convoy would not proceed to its destination but would return to base. At 1400, instead of leaving Zvornik for Srebrenica, the convoy crossed to the right bank of the Drina. The explanation given was that the journey was not safe, although the Serb side guaranteed safe passage for the convoy through the Serb Republic's territory.

Srebrenica Casualties Arrive in Tuzla

AU1804154193 Paris AFP in English 1531 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Tuzla, April 18 (AFP)—U.N. helicopters flew out 28 seriously wounded people from the besieged eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica Sunday, landing in the nearby Moslem-held town of Tuzla, an AFP correspondent said.

U.N. spokesman Rod Kay, of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees told AFP that the victims had been rushed to hospital after arriving in Tuzla aboard three helicopters of the U.N. Protection Force.

They were the first of up to 150 wounded due to be evacuated from the embattled Moslem enclave, which Serb forces are poised to capture, following a cease-fire signed between Serb and Moslem military commanders on Saturday.

B-H Serbs Threaten Withdrawal From Talks

LD1804150393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1444 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Kragujevac, April 18 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Parliament President Momcilo Krajisnik said on Sunday that Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina would withdraw from

negotiations on the settlement of the crisis in this war-torn former Yugoslav Republic if the implementation of new, stricter sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia began.

In an interview to Kragujevac Radio, Krajisnik said Serbs "showed maximum cooperation in negotiations" for the lifting of the sanctions imposed against Yugoslavia last October because of its alleged involvement in the ethnic war between Serbs, Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The U.N. Security Council on Saturday night adopted a resolution to step up sanctions because Bosnian Serbs refuse to approve maps of ten semi-autonomous ethnic provinces into which the future Bosnia- Herzegovina is to be divided under a plan set out by the co-chairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

Serbs say the maps were drawn to their detriment, since they would, as the second-biggest nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (31 percent of the population), receive only one-fifth of the republic's resources and nearly half of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herezgovina would be left in "non-Serbian provinces", with no links among each other and Serbia.

Krajisnik said that acceptance of the Vance-Owen maps and the "division of the Serbian people" would be equal to "capitulation and political disaster."

He warned that Serbs in regions in western Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would be separated from Serbia and other Serbian regions, would probably leave and they would be settled by Moslems and Croats. This would mean "new enslavement and new systemic separation of regions which would be annexed to the interest sphere of the West."

Srebrenica Leader Appeals to Clinton

LD1704184093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Appeal by Aziz Hajrudin, president of the Srebrenica War Presidency; in Srebrenica on 17 April—live or recorded]

[Text] Srebrenica is in flames. Today, 17 April 1993, shells are falling on the town at a rate of seven per second. You can imagine the situation in this town, a hell town, a town with over 25,000 people, dozens of dead and wounded. It is impossible to collect all the dead and wounded under the shower of shells making furrows in the streets of Srebrenica. More than two thirds of these victims are children, women, and the elderly. Is it right that these poor people should suffer just because they are Muslims? Has the world enough strength to halt this tragedy? Rivers of blood are flowing [word indistinct]. Can you imagine a picture in which UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members are crying watching groups of children with fatal wounds, with blood pouring out of their chests and tiny stomachs while medical staff are trying to help them. There are dozens of such images in this infernal town. This has been one of the most horrible days in the life of Srebrenica since the beginning of the war.

Fierce artillery attacks have continued all day, since 0630 this morning. Hand-to-hand fighting is going on around the town while the town itself is in flames, shrouded in a thick cloud of smoke caused by exploding shells of all calibres. Our fighters are advancing over the bodies of their comrades-in-arms trying at the cost of their lives to chase away Karadzic's beasts who pounced upon this town and this area with the utmost ferocity, trying to destroy these suffering people and wipe out all things Muslim. The battle is continuing, the outcome is uncertain, but the beasts from the nearby hills should know that we will fight to the last man and that all 70,000 people have decided to die in their homes. God knows, we are asking and appealing to the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to Bill Clinton, President of the United States, to do everything in their power to prevent the catastrophe looming over 70,000 residents of this part of eastern Bosnia.

Aziz Hajrudin, president of the Srebrenica War Presidency.

Serbs Say Muslims Honoring Cease-Fire

LD1904093993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Bratunac, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslims have started honoring the latest agreement on the cessation of combat activities in the Srebrenica area, a TANJUG correspondent was told today by representatives of the Serb republic army in Bratunac.

According to them, the Srebrenica area was quiet last night and this morning.

The agreement on the cessation of all combat activities came into force at 0459 on 18 April, but Muslim forces did not honor it yesterday morning, and on several occasions opened small-arms fire on Serb positions from the direction of Srebrenica.

The Muslim forces began to honor the cease-fire yesterday afternoon after a group of Canadian soldiers from the UN peace forces entered Srebrenica, Serb military sources said.

Serb Army 'Advancing Toward Travnik'

LD1804160693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] The information office of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna in Mostar has issued a statement saying that the Serb army in Bosnia-Herzegovina has carried out a general mobilization in Rakovica and Hadzici, and that

it is advancing toward Travnik with the help of special units and the support of artillery and modern tanks.

It is only the question of time when the Serbs will reach Bradina and enter Konjic, the HVO warns in its statement today, which adds that at the same time the Serbs have launched a strong attack from the area of Borci and Bijela toward Konjic.

The statement says that meanwhile members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are killing Croats, mainly civilians, and setting Croatian villages on fire. It is stressed that one of the men under the command of Arif Pasalic, commander of the Muslim forces in Mostar, has been tasked with destroying the Jablanica Dam on the Neretva River in order to cause panic in Mostar and its surroundings, which would make it easier for the Serbs to advance to the Neretva.

The HVO has called on the Muslims to cleanse their ranks and join the Croats, thus preserving their honor and saving their homes, because the Croats will not join the new Yugoslavia.

Serbs Said Violating Srebrenica Cease-Fire

LD1804090793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Report by Srebrenica Municipality Press Center for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-TV]

[Text] The aggressor is not observing the latest cease-fire agreement in the Srebrenica area. The shelling of the defense line in [word indistinct] (?Likari) and the front line in the area of Suceska was intensified at 0600 [0400 GMT]. The aggressor is regrouping infantry forces and armored units in the Sase and (word indistinct) areas. One shell fired from a 120-mm mortar launcher fell on the town at 0730, while antiaircraft guns and tanks were heard at the point from which the aggressor has been trying to enter the town for several days. Regrouping from all directions, including Sase and [word indistinct) was also noticed in the Pribicevac and Zeleni Jadar areas this morning. Fresh attacks can be expected during the day.

Serbs Blame Muslims for Attack on Srebrenica

LD1704184993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Bratunac, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—After almost a full day of attacks in several directions, at around 1700 Muslim armed formations launched a particularly strong artillery and infantry attack in the direction of Bratunac.

It turned out soon afterward that this was a fresh attempt at an infantry breakthrough toward the elevation of Kunjarac. Serbian ombatants thwarted the breakthrough attempt, but the fighting did not stop early in the evening when, as last night, the Bratunac area came under artillery attack.

Serbian military sources claim that today, as in the past few days, fire was not returned in the direction of Srebrenica. The same sources say that at around 1200 today, it was the Muslims themselves who opened artillery fire on the post office in Srebrenica, precisely when a humanitarian convoy was due to arrive, in order to blame the Serbians for the attack, according to their well-practiced scenario.

Serbs Approve Tuzla-Srebrenica Air Bridge

LD1704134593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1324 GMT 17 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, April 17 (TANJUG)—Top-ranking officials of the Bosnian Serb republic have approved the reopening of the Tuzla-Srebrenica air bridge, but U.N. helicopters have not appeared in Zvornik for a routine check-up on Saturday as scheduled.

It has been agreed that the helicopters from Tuzla land at the local stadium in Zvornik for a routine check-up, after which they would continue for Srebrenica to evacuate the wounded and the sick Moslems from that town.

The Bosnian Serb army has not received any information as to whether the helicopters will arrive in Zvornik later in the day. It has also received no explanation why the helicopters have not landed so far, although the Serb side has done everything to secure their safe reception.

Serbs Claim Muslims Renew Attacks

LD1704115893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1129 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Bratunac, April 17 (TANJUG)—Moslem extremists in the area of Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, on Saturday morning renewed artillery and infantry attacks on Serb positions, the Bosnian Serb Army told TANJUG.

The Moslems are heavily shelling the positions held by the defenders of the Serb-populated municipality of Bratunac, especially the strategic Zanik and Caus hills, the sources added.

On Friday evening, Moslem extremists shelled from heavy artillery weapons the broader area of Bratunac. Five Serb civilians, two of them children, were wounded in the attack, the Bosnian Serb army said.

The Bosnian Serb side refrained from returning fire in both attacks, it added.

Serb Infiltration Attempt Said Thwarted

LD1704074693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Report by the Press Center of the municipality of Srebrenica for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio-TV]

[Text] After a difficult day yesterday and an uncertain night, around 0300 [0100 GMT] this morning a chetnik sabotage group tasked with entering the town was thwarted. This should have been the beginning of the implementation of an order by criminal Mladic on the occupation of Srebrenica.

Heavy fighting, which is still under way, has started. With the first morning light, the aggressor started engaging in heavy combat activities from the direction of (Zeleni Jadar) towards (Ljubicevici) and from (Pribicevac) toward the old town. The courageous members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, although small in numbers and unarmed, stood up to fight the demon, ten-fold bigger, and technically superior armada and resolved to die—even to the last man—in order to save their wounded friends and around 30,000 civilians.

Fierce fighting for the defense of Srebrenica is still in progress while our fighters have been putting up a stubborn resistance to the aggressor.

At 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning, the shelling of the town started, while in the regions of (Sasa) and (Podravanja) the aggressor forces were noticed to be regrouping, and, therefore, the intensification of combat operations on the Srebrenica battlefield can be expected.

Recording Proves Serbs 'Eager' To Enter Srebrenica

LD1604191993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Excerpt] According to the latest REUTER reports, talks on the surrender of Srebrenica are underway, and it could happen that this Muslim enclave falls into chetnik hands during the night or tomorrow. We have learned from reliable sources that representatives of the Muslims and Serbs are holding talks, which is also confirmed by a TANJUG report on the forthcoming meeting of the commander of the army of the so-called Serb Republic, Ratko Mladic, and the commander of the Muslim forces, Sefer Halilovic. It is not accidental that the talks are being held at a time when the Muslim forces are stepping up their operations against the the Croatian Defense Council units around Konjic, looting Croatian houses with a threat of ethnic cleansing of Croats.

The situation is similar in the areas of Zenica, Travnik and Vitez, where fresh Muslim forces are being deployed. Their tactics are similar to those of the chetniks, and the role of Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Muslim forces, and his Belgrade connections has been revealed. While Lord Owen, one of the cochairmen of the conference on Yugoslavia, announces the possibility of selective bombing of Serb supply lines in order to stop arms and ammunition deliveries, it is obvious from the following audio report which we received from radio amateurs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, how eager the Serbs are to enter Srebrenica as soon as possible. General Ratko Mladic and Lieutenant Colonel Prstojevic talked about this in the area of Srebrenica.

[Begin unidentified voice recording] Listen, regarding what you told me today—let there be no more of that Potocari [a village near Srebrenica]—head for the town. Do you understand me? It is important. If you do not get in before tomorrow you never will. Straight into town. Take the civilian population and the wounded out and liquidate everybody carrying weapons. Do you understand me? [end recording] [passage omitted]

Commander Says Forces Arriving From Croatia

AU1604165793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Arif Pasalic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Fourth Corps, addressed the public today. We present the most important parts of his 10-minute statement.

He said tension began here on 3 April when the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] government made the decision and publicly announced that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would be subordinated to the HVO command, apparently in accordance with the Vance-Owen plan. The Fourth Corps Command will implement all its obligations stemming from the plan, according to the orders and the mechanisms of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command, when conditions are right for this.

There are forces from the Croatian Army on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the zone of responsibility of the Fourth Corps, and they are still arriving. The 114th Split Brigade has already been deployed in the region of Mostar and Jablanica, while the (?Nevesenska Brigade) from Metkovic is stationed around Jablanica. Special units of the Croatian Army are moving toward Konjic. Various officers of all ranks and reputations are arriving. General Praljak, an officer of the Croatian Army, is here, but his stay has nothing to do with the struggle against the Chetniks, at least not recently, but rather to undermine relations between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO. Tanks and artillery have been brought in and sent out to Jablanica and Konjic. Soldiers are lined up in the HVO units by their commanders and told: Those who are not ready to fire at the Lilies, troops of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, step out. This is clear discrimination and pressure on those HVO members who are Muslims. Muslim soldiers in the HVO have been dismissed from units for communications, artillery, tanks, and multiple rocket launchers. [passage omitted]

Serbs, Muslims Agree to Cease-Fire

AU1704181593 Paris AFP in English 1757 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 17 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Moslem military chiefs have in principle reached agreement on a cease-fire for the region around Srebrenica, the truce due to come into force at midnight (2200 GMT) Saturday, a U.N. spokeswoman said.

The commanders, meeting face-to-face at Sarajevo airport Saturday, also agreed to allow between 130 and 150 Canadian U.N. peacekeepers into the besieged Moslem enclave from Sunday morning, said U.N. Protection Force spokeswoman Shannon Boyd.

Muslims Said 'Breaching' Peace To Undermine Talks

LD1704141193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1329 GMT 17 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 17 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army command on Saturday reported that Moslem forces on Saturday morning launched a frontal attack on the Bosnian Serb position near Srebrenica and Vlasenica in eastern Bosnia.

"Moslem extremists, encouraged by the attitude of part of the international public, partiality of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina General Philippe Morillon and the latest U.N. Security Council resolution, are breaching all peace agreements," said the Bosnian Serb army report received by TANJUG.

The report specified that the Moslem forces carried out a frontal attack from the Zeleni Jadar-Javor-Sarampov-Kvarac-Zanik line.

The Bosnian Serb army command said that Moslems want to undermine the talks between Bosnian Serb army commander General Ratko Mladic and Bosnian Moslem Army Commander Sefer Halilovic, "who has committed terrible crimes against Serb people," scheduled for today.

Thirteen Bosnian Serb sodliers were killed and 22 were wounded in the attacked launched on the Serb positions near Vlasenica and Srebrenica by Moslems from the direction of Tuzla, Kladanj and Kalesija on Friday, the report said.

Further Clashes Between Croats, Muslims Reported

LD1704144193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Bileca, 17 April (TANJUG)—Clashes between members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in the Neretva River Valley, especially in Konjic, Jablanica, and Mostar have continued today, Croatian Radio Mostar has reported.

There are Croatian tanks in the streets of Mostar, and very few people can be seen other than armed soldiers. At a press conference today, HVO representatives denied Muslim claims that two brigades of the regular Croatian Army have arrived in the town.

According to Radio Mostar, Arif Pasalic, commander of the Bosnia- Herzegovina army's units in that region, has ordered the Sargan Battalion to attack a northern camp in Mostar, where some HVO units are positioned.

The HVO has addressed members of Croatian units who are not Croats by a special decree to the effect that if they are not ready to shoot at Muslim "lilacs," they should leave their units immediately.

The fiercest fighting is in progress in Konjic today again. Serb soldiers from that section of the battlefront claim that strong explosions and shooting can be heard in the town today. Radio Konjic has not come on air today, but it is still unknown whether this is due to the fighting in the town or some other reason.

Croatians Take Measures To Defend Against Muslims

LD1704154393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] At its extraordinary session today, the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia tasked the general staff of the Croatian Defense Council and the department of internal affairs with the organization of effective defense and the complete protection of the Croatian population, the information office of the Croatian Defense Council in Mostar has announced. Special security measures ought to be carried out in Mostar. The Croatian Defense Council adopted these decisions because it has concluded that formations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have continued attacking the Croats in central Bosnia and in the Neretva River region. They have been redirecting their actions toward Zenica, Travnik, and Bugojno from the wider areas of Bosnia- Herzegovina; i.e., from areas where they have been suffering losses inflicted by the Serb forces in eastern Bosnia, obviously aiming to clash with members of the Croatian Defense Council, a statement says.

Muslims Carry Out Mass Arrests of Croats in Zenica

LD1704212893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] After Zivko Totic, commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] brigade in Zenica, was kidnapped and four HVO members were murdered, the number of terrorist acts against Croats and HVO members in Zenica is on the increase. This has been learned in the HVO's information center in Mostar.

Terrorist activities were extremely intense today. Muslim forces took control of all important positions in the city and their snipers are killing civilians and HVO members. Muslim forces are also maltreating and carrying out mass arrests of Croats.

They launched a military attack against the village of Cajdras, but were repelled. Tanks are moving in the

streets of Zenica. Muslim forces have already expelled Croats from the areas of Gornja Zenica and Luke and Croats are also leaving the village of (Bilivode), the HVO information center reports.

Muslims Attack Croat Positions in Zenica

LD1804143093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] The operative zone of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in central Bosnia confirmed that at 0530 this morning Muslim forces attacked the HVO brigade command in Zenica and all Croatian villages in this municipality. The HVO stressed that mojahedin fighters were the main force behind the attacks on Croats. The building of the Zenica HVO brigade command and the Croatian club in Zenica were destroyed in the attack.

Croatian people from Gornja Zenica, Podbrezje, and Trokuce have been evacuated. The Muslim attack on the Croatian village of Cajdras, in the direction of Travnik, is continuing with the utmost ferocity. Meanwhile, the Muslim media in Bosnia have been spreading lies about the aggression of the HVO against Zenica and the Muslims, the HVO command stressed.

Muslim snipers are still active in Vitez. Last night the Croatian village of Divjak was attacked from the direction of Kumbor, between Vitez and Zenica. Three HVO soldiers were killed in the attack. Travnik is quiet, but tension is still felt. Two exits from the town are blocked by the seventh Muslim brigade and the mojahedin.

Muslim, Croat Leaders Agree To End Clashes

LD1804121893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Mate Boban, president of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna, have discussed Croat-Muslim relations in Zagreb. They signed the following joint public statement:

1. All disputes between the Croat and Muslim nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be solved by political means.

2. No reasons exist for clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council].

3. All units are ordered to stop the clashes, liberate the prisoners, and reach an agreement at all levels on prevention of clashes.

4. It should be immediately determined which units and individuals are responsible for instigating the clashes.

'Muslims' Reportedly Violating Cease-Fire

AU1604153293

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 16 April carries in its regular 40-minute newscast several reports on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Vlado Trisic reports from the Majevica and Semberija regions that "the cease-fire was again violated in the Majevica region this morning. First four mortar bombs were fired from the Teocak region at the Priboj region. After that, a dozen mortar bombs were fired from Hrasno at Banj Brdo east of Tuzla." Trisic cites the Eastern Bosnian Corps Information Service as reporting that "Serbian fighters did not respond to these Muslim provocations."

Risto Djogo reports from Sarajevo that "there were more intensive combat activities during last night. The Muslim Green Berets launched a frontal infantry assault on all Serbian positions from Vrbanja Bridge to the Bosut Barracks at the Jewish Cemetery. The attack was so fierce that the fighters of the Serbian republic were forced to respond and they announced this morning that they had inflicted great losses in manpower and equipment on the Muslims. Last night, Muslim units carried out provocations in the region of Kula and Lukavica as well. At about 2300 [2100 GMT], artillery was used from the direction of Dobrinja Three and Donji Kotorac."

Radoje Tasic reports that "the Visegrad front has flared up again since last night. The Green Berets from Medjedja, led by Commander Ahmet Sejdic, launched a fierce attack on Serbian defensive positions along the Medjedja-Orahovci-Stolac-Zaglavak. Artillery clashes are still taking place around the Zaglavak Hill."

Croatian, Yugoslav Media Update on Fighting

AU1904154593

[Editorial Report] The following is a roundup of reports on fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 18 and 19 April monitored from Bosnian, Croatian, and Yugoslav sources on 19 April. Sourcelines follow each entry.

TUZLA—Tuzla correspondent Mujo Delibegovic reports that Croatian Defense Council (HVO) units attacked the town center with howitzers at 1200, killing six Zenica residents on the spot and leaving seven others to die of their injuries. Delibegovic adds that "approximately 30 seriously injured civilians" were brought to Zenica hospital. He says that the Third Corps Command appealed to residents to stay at home or take shelter, pointing out that "the HVO's cowardly and bestial attacks on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army continue with unabated ferocity." Delibegovic reports that the Muslim villages of Lupac and "(?Preocica)" have been shelled with heavy 155-mm caliber howitzers from near Vitez, adding that "arrests, harassment, and the killing of innocent civilians continues in Vitez commune, which

remains under HVO control." He says that the "detainees" are being taken to several places in and around Vitez, including the school in Dubravice and the Workers' University. He reports that civilians, women, children, and the elderly are being used as "a live barrier in front of the HVO knights who are bravely back stabbing women and children who yesterday were their colleagues in the struggle against the common enemy." Delibegovic notes that "a vast majority" of HVO members in Zenica refused to follow HVO orders and that "numerous HVO members in Zenica have crossed over to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and taken an active part in the struggle against all forms of fascism with the army fighters." (Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT)

OSTROZAC—The Bosnian Army's 44th Hill Brigade reports that "the fate of (?Olmisina) village Muslims remains uncertain," adding that Ostrozac is under "constant" antiaircraft gunfire from HVO positions, "including the primary school housing refugees." The Brigade adds that three rockets have exploded at Jablanica's primary school and kindergarten since 1125 GMT. (Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT)

NOVI TRAVNIK—Novi Travnik correspondent Sabahudin Miso reports that "hundreds of Novi Travnik residents—predominantly Muslims from the part of the town that is under the HVO's control—have been crossing into the part of town controlled by the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in the last two days." He says that "a substantial number of Croatian residents of this town addressed the command of the communal defense headquarters and expressed their great dissatisfaction with the attacks of the HVO units at Vitez and a large-scale massacre of the civilians in Ahici." Miso concludes by noting that "the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command and the HVO Command in Novi Travnik currently have all their units under absolute control, which instills some hope that the clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in Vitez, Busovaca, and around Zenica will not spread to the Novi Travnik region." (Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT)

DOBOJ—Zoran Grgurovic reports: "Muslim units from Gracanica and surrounding villages have been repeatedly attacking the Serbian defenders' positions northeast of Doboj, on the (?Trebava) front, the highest peak in Ciganiste, and Doboj since 18 April. A general alarm is in effect in Doboj. The ardent attackers even fired from their positions—which are suitable for direct hits—on Doboj hospital, where Doboj citizens, including these Muslim fanatics' compatriots, are being treated." (Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT)

HUDUTSKO—"The HVO's Rama Brigade has reported that Muslim extremists attacked Hudutsko village with 30-mm recoilless cannon shells and 120-mm mortars at around 1200. Muslim forces then opened fierce fire with antiaircraft machine-guns and guns at family houses in Hudutsko. The HVO's Rama brigade also reported that snipers have been firing all day. The Elektroprozor public power company reports that Muslim extremists blew up part of its power transmission lines on 18 April, cutting Rama's power." (Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT)

TRAVNIK, JABLANICA, ZENICA—Correspondent Antonio Pehar reports: "Muslim forces continue to attack Croatian villages and Croats in central Bosnia. We have learned from the Travnik HVO that the Muslim forces have been attacking Vitez and Busovaca since this morning, targeting the town centers with artillery. An attack on the HVO positions in Kiseljak from the direction of Visoko began this morning. Croatian villages in the Kiseljak municipality are also being attacked. We do not have any exact casualty figures because of the fierce Muslim attacks and urgent activities in defending and protecting Croats in the area. We have learned from the HVO main headquarters that Jablanica has been ethnically cleansed of Croats. Family homes of expelled Croats are being looted and set on fire. Fierce defense by the Croatian people is also under way in the Konjic area. Zenica has been virtually cleansed from Croats by the Muslim forces. Remaining Croats in Zenica are being caught and detained. Chetniks are using the situation to pound Zenica intermittently from Pagenik [word indistinct] and the Muslim commanders are blaming the HVO to spread their anti-HVO propaganda. We have learned from the HVO main headquarters information service that the Muslim units are openly attacking the HVO members and particularly civilians on the outskirts of Zenica. The civilian Croatian population is being killed in the streets and in villages, Croatian homes are being burned, and people are fleeing. The Muslim forces are using tanks and heavy artillery in these operations. The greater part of the Muslim forces were sent to Vitez and Busovaca after Cajrdas was ethnically cleansed and looted. The situation in Mostar is extremely tense, with Muslim forces firing."

Pehar adds: "The HVO government of Herceg-Bosna held a session in Mostar today. Proceeding from the fact that the HVO of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna is at this crucial moment the protector of national rights of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats, the defense and internal affairs departments were given the task to take all available military-mobilization measures to provide full protection for the Croats throughout the territory of Herceg-Bosna, including the residential areas outside the Croatian community of Herceg- Bosna. Regarding the involvement of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and EC observers mission, aimed at stopping the confrontations, the HVO took a stand that the UNPROFOR operation centers with proportional representation of HVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Command of the international peacekeeping forces in the Mostar Province could be formed only provided the same bodies are simultaneously formed in Zenica and, depending on the situation, in other places in central Bosnia. It was concluded that cochairmen of the peace conference and

representatives of all peace and humanitarian organizations on the territory of former Yugoslavia should be regularly informed about the behavior of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and mojahidin it was concluded. Tasks for other departments were set in detail at the meeting, particularly the tasks for the department for refugees, which has to secure conditions on the territory of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna for receiving Croats expelled from central Bosnia." (Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT)

Serbs Open Artillery Fire on Croatian Positions

LD1604125093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Just before six this morning, Serbs in the occupied village of Oriolik opened artillery fire on the Croatian positions near Komletinci. More than 30 shells were fired on this area and the Vukovar and Vinkovci region. There are no reports of casualties. The Croatian forces did not return fire.

Launch Artillery Attack on Gospic

LD1704131893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Gospic has again become a target for chetnik attacks. Following a peaceful morning, at around 1325, chetniks, completely unprovoked, launched a fierce artillery attack on Gospic. The information center has sounded a general alert for Gospic and its vicinity.

Government Offers Support for NATO Operations

LD1604151593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1439 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Zagreb, April 16 (TANJUG)—Croatia has allowed the use of its air space in operation "Deny Flight" over Bosnia-Herzegovina and is ready to offer additional services to NATO forces, Croatian Ambassador to the U.N. Mario Nobilo said in a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, which was made public in Zagreb on Friday.

Croatia offered NATO "complete logistic support for the implementation of the (U.N. Security Council) resolution," and any help including its airports, if NATO planes and crews were endangered.

Nobilo proposed that two NATO liaison officers be assigned to the flight-control centres in Zagreb and Split, to avert possible problems in Croatia's civil aviation.

Croatia is ready to appoint two of its liaison officers to be with the tactical staff of the operation, to facilitate the "necessary exchange of information."

Croatian planes have violated Bosnia-Herzegovina's air space far more often than Bosnian Serb planes, U.N. observers said.

Croatia now holds a force 50,000-strong in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mesic Urges Bombing of Serbian Airports

AU1604165093 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 15 Apr 93 p 17

[Interview with Stjepan Mesic, president of the Croatian Parliament, by an unidentified DIE WOCHE reporter; place and date not given: "Bomb the Airports!"]

[Text] [DIE WOCHE] On 12 April NATO began enforcing the no-fly zone in Bosnia. What do you think of this operation?

[Mesic] The world has finally understood that aggression can only be stopped by force. One cannot do anything against the Serbs by talking nicely to them. Only when the attackers realize that their expansion cannot be successful, they will give it up.

[DIE WOCHE] Could this measure make the Bosnian Serbs accept the Vance-Owen plan?

[Mesic] This will not be sufficient. Other actions must follow.

[DIE WOCHE] Such as?

[Mesic] The airports where the planes take off from should be bombed and destroyed. Subsequently, a buffer zone should be established along the border with Serbia.

[DIE WOCHE] Can the flight ban influence the balance of military power in Bosnia?

[Mesic] Certainly not decisively. The military balance could easily be established by monitoring the Serbian border. One would just have to block the supply routes, through which military equipment and soldiers are streaming from Serbia to Bosnia and Croatia. The units in Bosnia would soon be isolated without the entire range of Serbian logistical support.

[DIE WOCHE] Do you see a danger that NATO might slide into real intervention through its current operation?

[Mesic] No, not at all. Large-scale intervention is not necessary, anyway. The world can show determination with smaller operations and hit the nerve of the Bosnian-Serbian army in Bosnia.

[DIE WOCHE] Do you see any chances for peace in the Balkans?

[Mesic] Peace can be restored within a few days. For that one does not need 100,000 men in ground forces.

Krajina Minister Says 'Goal' Within Reach

AU1704183993 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 93 p 2

[P. Damjanic report on interview with Milan Martic, defense minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina; place and date not given: "Never Closer to the Goal"]

[Excerpts] Tudjman's illusions that he will gain Krajina without a struggle—thanks to dissension among its politicians—have burst into thin air. Even if there had been some minor disputes, the Krajina people realize that they can withstand the well-organized Ustasha state and thereby prevent a new genocide only if they are united.

This is why the Ustasha war machinery has been mobilized again to try to erase everything Serbian and to realize the wishful thinking of General Tudjman.

These are the words of minister Milan Martic, one of the initiators of the Krajina resistance to the fascist regime in Zagreb. He does not conceal his pleasure that the disagreements in the leadership have been removed.

"We are now united again, more than ever. We managed to subordinate politics to something that is most important at this moment: the defense of the western Serbian borders and our survival in Krajina."

Martic gives considerable credit in all this to the first commander of the Serbian Krajina army, General Mile Novakovic, because he, being a real soldier, a professional, managed to keep the army away from bad political influences and to raise the defense to an appropriate level.

Martic says that keen political understanding was expressed by the Krajina deputies at the crucial meeting in Beli Manastir. Although there are more than enough problems, they managed to overcome personal vanity and prove that they are really the people's deputies.

"The Assembly will meet again in Okucani in a few days. A new government will be elected there. No one doubts that the choice of Djordje Bjegovic, the prime minister designate, will be a good one. The Serbs are facing a long and difficult war and an enemy driven by a sick hatred. That hatred of theirs is going to finish them off, Martic says, recalling the words of the late academician Jovan Raskovic. [passage omitted].

According to Martic, many harsh words were said at the meeting with Cedric Thornberry, head of the UNPROFOR civilian sector, in Topusko. Resolution 815 represents a desperate attempt by the United Nations to preserve its authority so that it can tailor the coat of the Krajina people according to the yardstick of some new world order, after trying in vain for months to impose its authority on Croatia and force it to withdraw from the occupied territories.

It is no coincidence that incidents caused by members of the peacekeeping forces are becoming more frequent. A few days ago members of the Danish battalion fired shots at Serbian soldiers near Blinjski Kut Village in Banija without any reason. This was probably done in order to push us into conflict with the entire world and to be create an excuse to return Krajina to Croatia by force. The army, militia, and even the people are unhappy with such a role for the peacekeeping forces, so we suggested to them that they restrict their movements in Krajina for their own security.

Martic believes that the Serbs have never been closer to their goal. This is why the potentates of the world are in such a hurry, and why there are all these pressures on the Serbs in Krajina, in the Serbian Republic, and in Serbia, although Serbia is not involved in the war.

"They would probably like Serbia to leave us in the lurch, so that we would starve, so Tudjman could walk into Knin. These things will never happen and the [Croatian] chessboard [flag] will never fly over the Knin fortress. As long as the last Serb lives!

National Security Council Meets 15 April

LD1604202293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] The seventh session of the Council of Defense and National Security, chaired by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, was held last night. This is reported in a statement issued today by the office of the president of the republic. Relations between Croatia and foreign countries were discussed in the light of numerous international meetings that Croatia held last week on various levels, and particularly with regard to the president's forthcoming visits to the United States and Turkey. It was assessed that the international position of Croatia is very stable and that political and economic relations with many countries are improving.

Proposals to begin extensive investments, particularly in road construction, were examined. The council was informed about some foreign offers to invest in building Croatian infrastructure, and the government was told to immediately analyze the offers in detail and to sign agreement so that expected and necessary work can commence.

After a report on the continuation of the aggression against parts of Croatia, particularly central and northern Dalmatia, the council concluded to again call on Serbia to stop the aggression against Croatia, aided by paramilitary and rebel groups in the protected areas. All those who continue to attack and shell Croatian towns and villages and who cause destruction and casualties, such as in Zadar and Sibenik today, will be brought before international courts as war criminals and the Amnesty Law will not be applicable in their case.

The council appointed a state committee for normalization of the relations between Serbs and Croats. Josip Manolic was appointed president of the committee; Slavko Degoricija, Josip Boljkovac and Jovan Bamburac vice presidents; Vladimir Seks, Drago Krpina, Pero Vidakovic, Zvonimir Markovic, Tomislav Sutalo, Mato Kovacic, Mijo Hlad, Zivko Jusbasic, Milan Djukic, Veselin Pejinovic, Dane Lolic, Milos Petrovic, Milan Miric, Mirko Kovac, Dusko Ljustina, Milorad Pupovac, Dusan Bilandzic, Zdravko Tomac, Jovan Uzelac, Srecko Bijelic, Olga Carevic, Branko Macura, Goran Granic, Branko Drca, Zvonimir Lerotic, Djuro Skocic, Ljubo Ljubotina, and Josip Palsic. It was recommended that other individuals who want to contribute to normalizing relations between the Serbs and Croats be subsequently incorporated into the committee, the statement says in conclusion.

Serbs in Zadar Establish Representative Assembly

LD1704094993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Knin, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Serb municipality of Zadar was set up in Knin today. The assembly rejected UN Security Council Resolutions 802 and 815 and adopted a provisional statutory decision on the assembly's functioning and organization.

Around 350 representatives of local communities from Zadar and the temporarily occupied villages in Ravni Kotari, who represent approximately 40,000 Serbs who have fled or been evicted from that territory—20,000 from Zadar alone—elected Mladen Kalapac president of the Serb municipality of Zadar. [passage omitted]

Milan Martic, minister of Internal Affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina, urged the unity and accord of the Serb people, stressing that accord is needed now more than ever before. Martic said the Serb army would soon liberate the temporarily occupied areas of Krajina.

The assembly of the Serb municipality of Zadar was unanimous in its stand that any kind of coexistence within Croatia is impossible.

A letter was sent to the Italian ambassador in Belgrade asking him to inform the public in his country about the setting up of the Serb municipality of Zadar with a proposal that Italian and Albanian municipalities in Zadar should also be set up.

Krajina Serbs Lose Confidence in UNPROFOR

LD1704132593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Knin, April 17 (TANJUG)—Major-General Mile Novakovic, commander of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) army, on Saturday said that Krajina Serbs had lost confidence in the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) after Croatia's aggression on the U.N.-protected RSK.

On January 22, Croatia attacked the RSK to impose its own rule there and has since stubbornly ignored U.N. Security Council Resolution 802 ordering it to withdraw to behind the U.N.-brokered truce line.

The U.N. peace-keepers, who were also attacked by Croatian troops, have withdrawn from some areas they controlled, leaving behind the unprotected Serb civilians.

Gen. Novakovic told TANJUG that whether or not the Krajina Serbs' trust in UNPROFOR would be restored primarily depended on those who issue orders to UNPROFOR, because "the blue helmets should serve as an instrument of peace and not as policemen of the new global order."

All Croatia wants are territories without Serbs, if possible, and the Western powers are well aware of this... [ellipses as received] It is only a question of time how long they would succeed in concealing this from their people, he said.

Gen. Novakovic also said that Krajina Serbs "have never put into question the peace plan drawn up by co-chairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen and UNPROFOR's mandate in the RSK."

Sporadic incidents between UNPROFOR and the local population in the U.N.-protected sectors north and west are provoked by "the incorrect attitude towards the local population and arrogance by some UNPROFOR troops."

In the opinion of Gen. Novakovic, their relations were further severed by U.N. Security Council Resolution 815 which treats the RSK as an "integral part of the Ustashi state" and gives power to the "U.N. peace-keepers to use force."

The RSK was proclaimed in late 1991 in the predominantly Serb-populated territories within the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia, following Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia and a campaign to expel the orthodox Serbs from Croatia or convert them into Catholicism. Croatian authorities also banned the use of the Serb national symbols and the Cyrillic alphabet, following the example of the Nazi puppet independent state of Croatia created during World War Two.

Gen. Novakovic denied statements by UNPROFOR's Deputy Force Commander Cedric Thornberry that the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR troops in the RSK was severely restricted, and said that as far as UNPROFOR was concerned, the restriction was self-imposed.

Serbian Krajina Issues Statement on Sanctions

LD1804171593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Knin, 18 Apr (TANJUG)— UN Security Council Resolution No. 820 serves the purpose of exerting further pressure on the entire Serb nation to make it capitulate in the struggle for its rights violated by the international community itself under the pretext of the so-called "new world order," the government of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) states in response to the imposition of even tighter blockade and isolation measures against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The statement adds that the resolution represents obvious blackmail designed to achieve the capitulation of the entire Serb nation—but this will not happen.

Under this resolution, according to the RSK Government, "The advocates of the new world order" merely demonstrate that they will not flinch from attempting to destroy everyone, even partly in their way".

In light of the resolution, the RSK Government will re-examine its participation in further negotiations with representatives of the international community until the pressures on the Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cease.

HVO's Prlic Leaves Mostar Talks

LD1804181893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] We have learned that Jadranko Prlic, the president of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, and Ejup Ganic, a member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, held a meeting in Mostar to discuss the implementation of the agreement between Mate Boban and Alija Izetbegovic on halting all clashes.

However, during the meeting a report from Zenica and the surrounding municipalities was received on a strong offensive by Muslim forces, accompanied by obvious regrouping of all available forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army toward Vitez, Busovaca and Travnik. Muslim forces reinforced by mojahedin from abroad continued attacking HVO positions in central Bosnia throughout the afternoon as well. They are also terrorizing civilians and ethnically cleansing the area of Croats.

Consequently, Jadranko Prlic and his aides walked out of the meeting, leaving open the possibility of resuming talks only when Muslim forces stop their attacks against the Croatian population throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Article Reviews Intelligence Service

AU1604093693 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 93 pp 2,4

[Article by Davor Butkovic and Mate Basic: "Sarinic in Secret Agents' Network"]

[Text] The Bureau of National Security, led by Hrvoje Sarinic, which should take over the role of Manolic's Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System, is the fifth intelligence service officially established in postcommunist Croatia.

In the first couple of months after the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] won the election, the intelligence services in Croatia were performed on two levels. In the then Presidency of Croatia (The Office of the President had not been established yet), where—according to Tudjman's closest assistants—the most confidential security matters were discussed only by the president, Josip Manolic, who was police minister at that time, Josip Boljkovac, and General Martin Spegelj; and in the Ministry of the Interior, where the predominantly Serbian ethnic structure had to be changed first and, consequently, a large number of police professionals hired. The turning point in the work of the most important persons in the police and military establishment, which were still loyal to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, came after the famous threat by the Belgrade chief of General Staff in August 1990 that the Yugoslav aircraft would shoot down Croatian helicopters if they intervened in Knin. After that, the prominent generals and intelligence officers started collaborating with Zagreb, furnishing them with information from their intelligence network.

Several months later, in the spring of 1991, the first intelligence service was established in democratic Croatia. It was the Service for the Protection of the Constitutional System, which was active within the Ministry of the Interior. This service was first led by Slavko Degoricija, who was the deputy police minister at that time and later remained closely connected with other intelligence organizations. After he had been criticized for his work (he was mainly reproached for releasing Arkan and Hadzic from pre-trial confinement), Vice Vukojevic—allegedly (because this had never been confirmed)—took over his tasks. He came to the Ministry of the Interior at the same time as Degoricija. During the most intense attacks on Croatia, in the autumn of 1991, Vukojevic worked on very sensitive security matters and had close relations with the president of the Republic.

All Croatian Intelligence Services

When the war escalated in Croatia, two more intelligence services were officially founded. The first one is the Security and Information Service (SIS), which functions within the Defense Ministry and is led by Josip Perkovic, an old Yugoslav state security agent, who joined the Croatian side at the beginning of the disintegration process in Yugoslavia. At the same time, the Intelligence Service of the Croatian Army was also established. The scope of its work was not discussed very much in public. This was the security system in Croatia at the end of 1991.

All four services in this system had broad powers, which had not been changed until recently, when the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System was closed and replaced by the Bureau of National Security. The civil intelligence service was performed by the Service for the Protection of the Constitutional System, which was a part of the Ministry of the Interior, formally led by the deputy minister. This service was, apart from having been subordinated to the minister of the interior, also subordinated to Josip Manolic.

The military intelligence service was performed by the Intelligence Service of the Croatian Army, led by Davor Domazet, a battleship captain. The task of the Intelligence Service of the Croatian Army is to gather information about Croatia's military enemies. This service is under the command of the chief of General Staff.

The Security and Intelligence Service (SIS) controls and prevents enemy activities on Croatian territory, it renders enemy intelligence activities toward Croatian soldiers impossible, and supervises safety in general. The SIS head is Colonel Miro Medjimorec, theater director by profession. The SIS is directly responsible to the defense minister.

Until recently the most important Croatian intelligence service was "Manolic's CIA," (that is what the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System was called by Manolic himself). Its headquarters was the famous "Bakaric Villa" on Jurjevska Street in Zagreb. During air raids on Zagreb, several antiaircraft machine guns were placed around it. According to Manolic, "All Croatian intelligence services, among which the Service for the Protection of the Constitutional System is the most important both in the scope of its work and its members, are united in the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System."

Josip Manolic—The Second Man in Croatia

Whereas the heads of all intelligence services are responsible to Manolic and the president of the Republic, as the commander in chief of the military forces—apart from being responsible to their direct superiors (police minister, defense minister, chief of the General Staff)—the head of the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System was responsible only to the president of the Republic and to no other person or institution in Croatia. This means that the man who controlled all important information from the point of view of security was, formally seen, subordinated only to the president. This made Josip Manolic, who was head of the Bureau during the time it existed, the second man in Croatia.

The Croatian security system consisted of four services: a military intelligence service (Intelligence Service of the Croatian Army) and a military counterintelligence service (SIS), as well as the civil intelligence service (Service for the Protection of the Constitutional System) and a civil counterintelligence service (Bureau for the Protection of Constitutional System). The Bureau coordinated and supervised the work of other services and it was the direct link to the president, as the holder of supreme power. It has to be mentioned here that at the end of 1991 and at the beginning of 1992 a fifth intelligence agency was openly discussed, which, according to a high police official, "should have performed the same tasks in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the SIS performs in the Defense Ministry." Today, an intelligence service within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not publicly mentioned, although it is a well-known fact that this Ministry employs people who are in charge of the security clearance of future diplomats and Ministry staff itself. Manolic should have also been in charge of the intelligence service within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the 16 or 17 months he spent in the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System, Manolic managed to establish an institution that Serbs were more afraid of than Croats. After 70 years of prosecution of political enemies this institution was especially sensitive to the so-called political police. When Manolic's institution started working, all newspapers—from the old DANAS to GLOBUS—were full of judgments that the political police was experiencing a revival, which, according to them, represented a danger for the democracy in Croatia. Manolic, who despite his delicate position always behaved more attentively toward the Croatian people than other Croatian politicians, did everything to break down these prejudices. Soon, the negative image of the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System vanished completely.

Hrvoje Sarinic Followed Josip Manolic

Manolic was anxious to have good staff. The most important of Manolic's assistants became Zdravko Mustac, a Croat who was head of the State Security Police of the former Yugoslavia from 1986 until the time the first demonstrations in Croatia started! According to Belgrade newspapers, Mustac was the most capable and the most powerful Yugoslav intelligence officer, "whose transfer to the Croatian side was a heavy blow to the federal security system." Mustac was Manolic's deputy in the Bureau. Apart from Manolic and Mustac, there were also Josip Boljkovac, who managed to calm down national riots in the villages of Gorski Kotar, Josip Perkovic and Slavko Degoricija who played an important role in the Bureau.

After Manolic had announced a month ago that he was leaving the intelligence service, there were rumors about his three possible followers: Krunoslav Olujic, a HDZ official; Zdravko Zidovac, a former deputy minister of the interior (whose resignation from the Ministry of the Interior almost coincided with Manolic's announcement that he was leaving the Bureau); and Miroslav Tudjman, a brigadier in the Croatian Army, son of the president.

Before the Parliament session in March started, it was already known that Olujic would not get the position in the Bureau. One of the reporters from the Parliament said he had personally heard the conversation in which Zidovec was confirmed as the new head of the Bureau. Miro Tudjman should have become his gray eminence. Three days after this Parliament session, Nikica Valentic's close assistants said that the new prime minister insisted that Hrvoje Sarinic take over the position of the minister of foreign affairs, but only a day later, on 7 April 1993, a decree was signed, by which Sarinic was appointed head of the Bureau of National Security, the successor to Manolic's Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System.

Miroslav Tudjman's Military Career

The fact that Sarinic was appointed head of the Bureau for National Security does not mean that Tudjman and Zidovec will not have important positions in the Bureau. As far as the president's son is concerned—a full-time professor at the Zagreb Faculty of Arts, the author of two

computer science textbooks, born in Belgrade in 1946, an opponent of his father's policy in the first days of the multi-party system in Croatia when he joined Vujic's Social Democrats— Tudjman's position in the Bureau for National Security is an expected continuation of his military career. Tudjman junior had already in the summer of 1991, together with a group of his friends and sympathizers played an important role in establishing IPD [Institute for Applied Social Studies] and is—allegedly—personally responsible for Janko Bobetko's appointment as commander in chief of the southern front. Tudjman is one of the founders of IPD, which does not only have a scientific function.

The most important task of Miroslav Tudjman, who was said to be the second most powerful man in the Defense Ministry (after Gojko Susak), was to review most of the plans for the Croatian Army. Tudjman was one of the men who approved or stopped all important drafts on the development and organization of the Croatian Army.

It is considered today that Tudjman's appointment to a function in the Bureau is at the same time an announcement of a new organization of Croatia's security system. This was also one of the topics Manolic spoke about in his last interview before he left the intelligence service, in which he stressed the importance of the Division for Analyses of the Bureau.

Manolic's resignation from the leading position in the Bureau for the Protection of the Constitutional System, the new name of his Bureau, Sarinic's appointment as head of the Bureau, and Tudjman's and Zidovec's appointment (a former journalist, publisher, and a policeman) to important functions in the Bureau give rise to several serious political dilemmas.

It is clear at first sight that by appointing Sarinic as head of the Bureau for National Security, President Tudjman wanted to show that he is entrusting the members of the moderate HDZ faction with the leading positions in the security system (the only exception was Vice Vukojevic as long as he worked at the Ministry of the Interior). The question is, however, why Sarinic, who has had no function in the police so far, has chosen these two people, who gained a lot of experience in the war, as his assistants, and who, especially Tudjman, surely will not be only executors of his orders. In order to make a long story short, Sarinic has two ambitious, more or less influential professionals, whereas Manolic was self-reliant in leading the Bureau. Judging by that, it seems that President Tudjman no longer wants another person to have as much power as Manolic.

What Kind of Policeman Sarinic Will Be

Sarinic's appointment to the leading position of all security services can also be explained by the need to keep the balance of power in the Croatia's security system. It seemed that with Manolic's resignation this balance was disturbed to the advantage of Susak, who controls the SIS. By Sarinic's appointment, Susak got a powerful partner, who will insist on the powers of his Bureau, which means he will also insist on the control of the counterintelligence service of the Defense Ministry.

Manolic's Bureau was closed with another pragmatic political aim— the dismissal of former Communists and antifascists from the leadership of the Republic. Boljkovac, Perkovic and Mustac, who were constantly attacked by the HDZ conservative faction, also left together with Manolic.

Sarinic's appointment can also mean that Tudjman wants to be surrounded by the most loyal people because of the pressure from the unsatisfied HDZ members.

It is completely clear that Tudjman has to make concessions to the conservative HDZ faction, a fact that can best be seen in Valentic's government. In order to dodge a conservative blow, Tudjman appointed the officials from the moderate faction—whose loyalty he is convinced of—to the most important positions in the state administration and security service.

All important political functions are occupied by the members of this faction: Mesic is the chairman of Parliament, Valentic is the prime minister, Manolic is the chairman of the Chamber of Counties in the Parliament, Sarinic the head of the Bureau for the National Security. The ring around Tudjman, with the exception of Jure Radic, head of the Office of the President, is constituted by openly declared HDZ liberals, who have been in open conflict with the conservative faction of the party.

World Bank Gives First Loan to Croatia

AU1604103093 Zagreb NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 93 p 14

[HINA report: "125 Million Dollars for Reconstruction"]

[Text] Zagreb—The first loan given by the World Bank for the reconstruction of the Republic of Croatia should be approved on 18 May at the meeting of World Bank governors, while Croatia might be able to start utilizing that loan as early as in June, according to expectations. This was stated yesterday by Josip Kulisic, aide to the finance minister, who headed the Croatian delegation at the final negotiations with the representatives of the World Bank, taking place from 5 to 9 April in Washington. In the Croatian delegation there were also Ivan Hromatko from the Agency for Reconstruction, Vera Tadic, aide of the minister for agriculture and forestry, Marcela Kir from the Croatian Bank for Reconstruction, and Iva Bobanovic from the National Bank of Croatia.

"On that occasion, the Draft of the Agreement on Reconstruction Loan that the World Bank will approve for Croatia in the amount of $125 million was accepted, while the manner and conditions of the utilization of the loan were also agreed upon. The loan involves six basic fields in which the reconstruction will be carried out, which were specified in the course of joint preparations

lasting several months," Kulisic emphasized. The greater part of the loan, that is to say $43.1 million, will go on the reconstruction of apartment buildings, residential areas, schools, and health care centers, while $20.3 million is intended for agriculture, that is to say for providing cattle, for mechanization, and for the construction, or renovation, of grain elevators. For the reconstruction of roads and bridges $15 million has been apportioned, $10 million for railways, $16.6 million for the electricity supply network, while $20 million will go on the waterworks. According to Kulisic, the World Bank will give the loan to Croatia under favorable financial conditions, which means that the deadline for the repayment is 17 years, with the agreed grace period of four years. On the other hand, Croatia will provide resources from the state budget for improving the condition of destroyed facilities to the total amount of $67 million, however in Croatian dinar equivalent value.

"The significance of this loan is not only the fact that the World Bank will directly finance the purchase of essential goods, machines, materials, and various services needed for reconstruction, but also in the many possibilities that will be opened for involving other international institutions and foreign business partners into the process of reconstructing and developing Croatia," Kulisic believes.

The loan will be financially realized through the Croatian Credit Bank for Reconstruction, while the Agency for Reconstruction, functioning with the Croatian Government, authorized ministries, public firms, and other institutions will take care of its actual utilization.

"At the same time, we are continuing negotiations on the possibility of obtaining loans from the World Bank in the future," Kulisic emphasized.

Croatian Leaders on UNPROFOR Mandate Renewal

93BA0850C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 pp 9-10

[Unattributed article: "Consensus Concerning the Blue Helmets"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] **Luka Bebic, HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]: The Conditions Are Well-Known.**

As a sovereign and recognized state, we are for the first time talking with the United Nations about extending the mandate. The parts of the plan which have not been fulfilled now have to be gradually spelled out as part of the six-month mandate. No other option is suitable to Croatia. Although this should be discussed from the standpoint of the attitude of international political forces, we hope that the United Nations will accept Croatia's demands and offers. Of course, the situation in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina also has its appropriate share. It would not be acceptable for Croatia if the United Nations decided to extend its mandate under the same conditions. Here, the views of the HDZ are clear, because then the extension would have no purpose at all. This would be a spending of money and maintenance of the status quo. Croatia has clearly made it known to the United Nations under what conditions it consents to extension of the mandate. Otherwise, there will be a complicated legal situation and relations between the United Nations and Croatia as a member of it toward which the organization is not fulfilling its agreed obligations.

Bozo Kovacevic, HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Party]: Acceptable Offer

The party holds that the conditions which President Tudjman has offered to Butrus-Ghali are acceptable, and at the same time recalls that Mr. Drazen Budisa submitted his resignation from the post of minister in the government of the Republic of Croatia because he did not agree with the fact that the original Vance plan did not set dates for accomplishing the various phases of the plan. I hold that the government should explain what will happen if all the objectives are not achieved in the new six-month period. We should, then, obtain firm guarantees that everything will occur in keeping with the president's proposals. It is clear to us that the decision depends on the balance of power, but our position is that we can essentially improve the prospects in the foreign policy area through democratization of internal political conditions, and vice versa. Croatia will not be particularly credible in seeking diplomatic support for achievement of its goals unless the legal system begins to operate, if the freedom and rights of all citizens and legal protection of private property are not guaranteed.

Josip Pankretic, HSS [Croatian Peasant Party]: The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Has Divided Croats

Just this past Sunday I traveled to Daruvar and down to Zdenci, and I was very surprised. I was surprised because I went perhaps 20 or 30 km from Bjelovar. The UNPROFOR was there in the forest and examined all of us. It was very unpleasant to feel that you had come to some border or to some foreign state. We were examined by foreigners, and at this point I would not like to say how they behaved toward us. What was it that perhaps bothered me a little? After I had passed them, I went on another 20 or 30 km, where it was normal and peaceful, and then I came to Zdenci. The UNPROFOR has some central command there, because I saw a great many autos. And I began to reflect. What are these people doing halfway between Bjelovar and Zdenci? A normal citizen who does not live in that community, if he were to look at this, would conclude that the UNPROFOR is in this case dividing Croats from Croats. Croats, after all, are on both sides. For that reason, I am not satisfied with the UNPROFOR, and in view of that practical situation I do not have a good opinion of the UNPROFOR. And its extension for these six months, if they do nothing more than they have done up to now, then it would not be confirmed. But I hope that nevertheless they will do

something, because it is high time that they understand why they are here. If they return to us only a few kilometers of terrain, they have already done a lot, because after all we would then not have to shed blood to liberate that portion.

Slavko Mestrovic, HNS [Croatian People's Party]: We Do Not Decide Ourselves

I think that the UNPROFOR has done the smaller part of the job that follows from all the many promises. To be sure, it did prevent the main aggression against Croatia by its arrival, but it has not discharged any other obligation. That means that we should reassess the conditions of its remaining in Croatia and the deadlines for carrying out the Vance plan. I think that President Tudjman wrote this down very exhaustively in his letter to the UN secretary general, and I would agree with his proposals. So, the UNPROFOR could help us and should remain, but under other conditions, because otherwise there would be no point. The official government and the president have understood the problem very well; however, I do not know how negotiations will succeed in meeting our demands, because this depends on our negotiating delegation and a number of circumstances. I agree, then, with the proposed extension for six months, but under new conditions. It is difficult to answer the question of what to do if the United Nations extends its mandate under the same conditions. Not that something in particular should be done here, because we do not decide ourselves.

Milan Djukic, SNS [Serbian National Party]: A Guarantee Is Essential

President Tudjman's letter is nothing new. The Serbian National Party wrote just such a letter several months ago. What is more, the content is largely a repetition of the president's previous letter. Now it is very essential that the Republic of Croatia, as a party to the agreement, fight for an agreed guarantee. The foundation should still be the Vance plan, but through it Croatia can and should achieve sovereignty over its entire territory. The contractual guarantee, even with an intensified degree of authority, must be implementation of the UN resolution which guarantees protection and separation of the borders of the internationally recognized Republic of Croatia from the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. The latest deadline for introduction of the most basic elements of the legal system of the Republic of Croatia should be six months. After that, the UNPROFOR can remain even longer and bring about conditions for a more lasting peace, for the complete return of the displaced persons, and for full restoration of the legal system. The most recognizable elements of the Croatian legal system and of its presence must be these: facilitating local elections, opening roads, schools, and health care institutions, and social assistance.

Depositors Suing State for Fraud

93BA0850B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 pp 24-25

[Article by Boze Cubelic: "Financial Engineering"]

[Text] It did not take the government much time. It recently announced a fierce fight against all types of crime, and many people involved in shady operations are already behind lock and key. The "financial engineering" which has been written and spoken about quite a bit is only one of the ways in which money has been taken, in actuality stolen, from the public. On this occasion, we will deal with the case of the firm N.S. FIKO d.o.o. [joint-stock company] of Zagreb, which was established by the accused Nada Selendic to conduct financial "business."

According to the indictment, she, "in the latter half of 1992, established the agency for financial engineering N.S. FIKO at No. 13 Nikola Tesla Street in Zagreb and inaccurately represented to the plaintiff-depositors, who deposited their dinar and foreign exchange funds for a term of three months, that she would lend them to natural persons and would pay them a rate of interest of at least 25 percent on foreign exchange and at least 40 percent on dinar funds. As of the time of her arrest, that is, as of 15 December 1992, Nada Selendic had concluded 597 loan contracts, presenting fictitious contracts to depositors, which always were made out to the same borrowers. Those funds were never forwarded to the borrowers, although they had given her about 2 million German marks [DM]. She kept the money herself, injuring at least 194 depositors...." The indictment also charges Nada Selendic with "establishing an identical agency under the name AKM, which is at the same address and which was registered in her own name by Anica Kajic, who has frequently been charged...."

The basis for establishing the agencies was the founder's assumption that quite a bit of hoarded money is still going unused which the public has been unwilling to trust to the banks for safekeeping and people have not known what to do with it. This was a splendid occasion for "business," which was also encouraged by the large number of legal provisions that are unclear or not spelled out. The suspicion of individuals who do not have a business background was dispelled by the legal establishment of the firm, and their enterprise was awakened by promises of high earnings which no one was able to fulfill up until that time (nor have they since). One of the promises was prompt payment of monthly interest of at least 25 percent on the deposit in foreign exchange, and at the end of the third month the principal would also be paid back. There was just one detail missing to start the "business": to find suitable people in whose names the firm would be established. That purpose was best served by persons with low income who did not have prospects of improving their financial situation so quickly. That accounts for the paradox that only some of the "financial engineers" registered were the actual owners of their

agencies. The fictitious owners of the firm, actually playthings in the hands of criminals, passed on the money paid in to the true owners, and the latter would pay them a hefty fee and use the money collected to pay interest to the depositors. Even after payment of interest for two months each real owner would still have half of the deposit in his pocket.

In fact, the money did make money, but mainly through wholesale smuggling. Tractor-trailer rigs brought cigarettes, coffee, alcohol, and other goods to the black market in the homeland and brought immense profit. That means that the unwitting depositors were usually creditors of smugglers who in their "business" were doing harm both to the state and themselves. As they garnered wealth, many owners of the agencies for "financial engineering" disappeared, fled over the border. Some did not do that, or perhaps they did not have time.

When the authorities realized what was going on, that the public was supplying credit with its money to finance most of the smuggling in the country, and that it involved carriers, customs officials, the lawyers of the agencies, the lawyers defending the injured parties (because their business flourished because of the agencies), and people from the police who were providing protection..., the alarm was sounded. The owners of the agencies—mainly women—were the first to come under attack, and some were arrested immediately. However, in most cases the money was not found in their possession, nor were they able to return it to the deceived depositors.

Let us go back to the agency N.S. FIKO. It promptly paid its creditors two months' interest on the money deposited. Immediately before payment of the principal and interest to the depositors, at the end of the three-month contract, officers of the Zagreb PU [Police Department (?)] entered the firm's premises and confiscated the money they found. This was on 15 December of last year. The plaintiffs say that the amount was DM800,000. The money was supposed to be returned to the depositors either that same day or the next day, but.... The injured depositors proved that the money was confiscated with a photocopy of the "receipt for the articles temporarily confiscated" and a copy of the testimony of the agency's lawyer, Mato Matic. After criminalistic processing, the depositors say, the money temporarily confiscated has been kept on the premises of the District Economic Court in Zagreb.

When the depositors gathered for the first time in front of the building of the District Economic Court with the demand that their money be returned, A.P., president of the District Court, agreed to see A.D., representative of the depositors, and pacified him by saying that the injured parties could be at ease, because their money would be returned in two weeks at the latest. And until that time, the money would be properly kept in the court. But because the period expired and the money was not returned, the injured parties again met in front of the court. Again it went the same as the first time. However, the third time they were received, the injured parties were asked to submit a formal demand for return of the money, i.e., to sue the court. But because the court is a government body, suing the court is the same as suing the government. The depositors did this on 28 January of this year. However, the money has still not been returned to them, and we can only guess where it is at the moment—in the court or someone is using it. Doubt was cast over the entire story by Igor Martinovic, lawyer for the injured depositors, who told us that during the interrogation of Drago Jovic, one of the depositors, the investigating judge of the District Court made the statement that he "did not know where the money was."

This is what depositor Drago Jovic has to say about the whole case: "Firms for financial engineering are legally registered with the economic courts. They have been operating for months, they have advertised in the media, not a single government body has questioned the legality of their operation. The public deposited cash in the agency N.S. FIKO with confidence, because the agency was supposed to invest that money in the 'Parac program,' which envisaged construction of a soccer stadium on Dubrava and certain accompanying facilities. All will agree that construction of such facilities is in the general interest of society and that in depositing our money we were not merely satisfying our own interest. In the end, the principal of our money ended up in the District Court in Zagreb.

"It should be emphasized that we have no quarrel either with Mato Matic, the agency's lawyer, nor with Nada Selendic, who is in custody. We are in a dispute with the court, because the money is there. The government—recently we have heard many statements by leading government officials—has promised to protect the interests of the depositors, but it has attributed the blame for theft on the agencies and on itself because it did not prevent the crime in good time. Many depositors and their families have all of a sudden found themselves in a difficult situation."

Unfortunately, for the present, the door of the District Economic Court in Zagreb is closed to journalists seeking more and more detailed information about this case of "financial engineering." But, because the affair involves others than just the criminals and the victims, but through a particular set of circumstances directly involves the government through the courts and the police, the public will probably soon be told about the outcome of this unusual story, which, we assume, is not the only one in our country today.

[Box, p 24]

Sasa Novak, Investigating Judge of the District Court in Zagreb: Entangled Case

The case is extremely complex. So long as the investigation is going on, we cannot prejudice the results. We need to unravel all the threads of this confused case so as to arrive at a mosaic and properly understand the entire matter. I know that the depositors are putting pressure

on the public to get the issue resolved for them as soon as possible. I am also exposed to pressures. I know that the lawyers are also saying all kinds of things, that you journalists like to write about this, but for the present nothing in any more detail can be said about this.

[Box, p 25]

The Parac Program

On 9 September 1992, the story began about a chain of "financial engineering" known as the Parac program. That was the day a certain Josip Sente loaned Drago Parac DM8,750 for three months at an interest of 3 percent per month. The two of them concluded a loan contract concerning this in the Zagreb City Secretariat for Administration and Jurisprudence. The contract was properly notarized, and Parac, it stated, guaranteed repayment of the loan "with land and a structure under construction of the Dubrava NOO [Soccer Organizing Committee] of Zagreb." The file number of the contract is 251-02-05-822. The borrower (Parac) committed himself in the contract that he would use the loan received to invest in a transaction to realize a profit..., and Parac, under the contract, would pay the interest to Josip Sente through the agency N.S. FIKO. And that is how the chain began.

The public came to N.S. FIKO and deposited money. But they were not issued a contract notarized with the Secretariat for Administration and Jurisprudence, but they were only given a receipt in the agency. Thus, on 14 September 1992 Darko Dimic and Stjepan Veseljak received a receipt that they had deposited DM5,000 in the "Parac program" for three months at a 25-percent monthly interest. The receipt has the stamp of the firm N.S. FIKO d.o.o. of No. 13 Nikola Tesla Street in Zagreb. The agency no longer exists, the foreign exchange is not there, and no one can do anything legally to Parac. This is not thievery, but financial engineering.

[Box, p 25]

Thousands of Marks

That there are quite a few injured depositors in Zagreb who deposited an immense amount of money in firms for "financial engineering" is vividly demonstrated by certain figures on the amounts deposited. A certain Benko of Zagreb deposited DM306,900 in one of the agencies, Trisler of Osijek DM40,000, Ortner DM20,625, Tomic DM48,750, Tamarut DM37,500, the sixth person on the list of the agency N.S. FIKO DM186,000, and so on. Will their money, or at least a part of it, ever be returned to them?

Federal

Emergency Cabinet Session on UN Resolution

LD1804102593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0956 GMT 18 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic has called an emergency session of his cabinet to discuss the latest U.N. Security Council resolution tightening sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

General Secretary of the Federal Government Aleksandar Vujin told TANJUG the session was scheduled for one p.m. local time on Sunday.

Late Saturday night, the Security Council adopted a new resolution toughening sanctions against Yugoslavia. The resolution will come into effect on April 26 if Bosnian Serbs do not sign the Vance-Owen peace plan by that date.

On May 30 last year, the Security Council imposed comprehensive sanctions on Yugoslavia over its alleged involvement in the war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Foreign Minister Calls UN Sanctions 'Inhumane'

AU1804194793 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Statement by FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic in Belgrade on 18 April—recorded]

[Text] The text of the resolution as a whole not only has anti-Yugoslav but definitely anti-Serbian connotations. Namely, as I have already said, issues involving the right of the Serbs in Krajina and those in Bosnia-Herzegovina to exist are incorporated in the text. By tightening the sanctions, they actually wish to cut them off from the FRY, that is, prevent them from receiving any sort of materiel or any other type of humanitarian aid from this source. It is known what this would mean for these people. Therefore, when I say that this resolution is anti-Serbian, I am not exaggerating at all, as its objections are not only evident but actually stated in direct terms in the text of the resolution.

Besides, this resolution persistently considers the FRY to be a party to the conflict, that is to say, the side most responsible for settlement or non-settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is a preposterous presumption that has been hanging in the air for some 10 to 11 months. Since the beginning of the Geneva negotiations on Bosnia, it has become completely absurd and nonsensical. It is a real miracle how the international community manages to maintain any sort of logical link with such a presumption, how it can accept it at all, as this is a result of ruthless and aggressive efforts to convince the world that everything is black and white, or white and black. This is one of the reasons why we must view this resolution not only with the greatest caution but with the realization of the imperative need to overcome all our misunderstandings and conflicts, and face such a threat from outside in as united a fashion as possible, being as undivided as possible in our views and actions.

There is no nation anywhere in the world that would consent to such a request, namely to cut all ties with a considerable portion of its nation and leave it to the destiny of [word indistinct] and disintegration. This demand is so inhumane that it is more than evident that is it impossible. Therefore, the question of what is actually desired by such a tightening of the sanctions presents itself. Is it really an end to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina that is sought or, on the contrary, the continuation of the war in order to increase the sanctions and achieve some other objectives?

Yugoslavia's Membership in IMF Still Uncertain

LD1504152293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 15 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has drawn up a program of repaying the dues to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and of fulfilling other tasks for the extension of membership in the two financial institutions, TANJUG has learned.

To inherit the former Yugoslavia's IMF membership, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) will have to meet six conditions by June 14.

Last mid-December, the IMF decided to solve the membership of the five heirs to the former Yugoslav Federation on the basis of the succession of all of them. The F.R.Y., Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia have been entitled nominally to share the quota (deposit) the former Yugoslavia had had as an IMF member.

One of the conditions to recognize the membership is associated with IMF estimates whether a heir is capable and ready to return and draw its part of the debt.

This condition, according to Yugoslav experts, opens up room also for political decisions.

Unofficial estimates show that the F.R.Y. should pay back to the World Bank and the IMF at least some 200 million dollars by June 14.

The F.R.Y. has voiced readiness to meet all its obligations but the international embargo places it in an impossible position because for more than ten months it has not had any revenues from its foreign tourist and other services.

Deposits of the F.R.Y. abroad are blocked, while sovereign currency gold reserves are reduced to the minimum. [Words indistinct] that a good part of these obligations will nonetheless be met by the F.R.Y.

A likely mitigating condition may come from the World Bank's promise that it will extend the deadline [word indistinct] returning the obligations in case they are extremely high. However, in case the F.R.Y. loses its IMF membership, it will not be able to remain in the World Bank either.

Data on Proposed Federal Budget

93BA0843E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by S. Cedic: "How Heavy Will the Federal Coffers Be This Year: Smaller Budget for Less Inflation"]

[Text] Total public spending by the federal state and the two republics would be reduced from 70 to 55.8 percent of the social product; 70 percent of the federal budget is earmarked for the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia.

Reducing total public spending by the federal state and the two republics to no more than 55.8 percent of this year's social product is the top goal of the federal government, the achievement of which will depend on the overall economy policy of Dr. Radoje Kontic's cabinet.

This was how Dr. Jovan Zebic, the vice president and federal minister of finance, speaking at a press conference yesterday, interpreted the federal government's determination to fight to bring public spending closer to the feeble, realistic possibilities of the economy and population and to reduce the budget deficit.

According to Zebic, total public expenditures have been planned very restrictively, but are between "Scylla and Charybdis," with the awareness that under these conditions, some expenditures (for the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, for example) will even have to be increased and that serious restrictions are forthcoming, but also that the planned 55.8 percent of the social product is too great a burden. Nevertheless, the basic assumption in planning public expenditures was that the impending economic measures that are already being planned will succeed in slowing down the decline in production (to a shortfall of no more than 15 percent compared to last year's performance), and that inflation will be cut in half every month until it is reduced to an annual index of 11,658 or a monthly average of 48.9 percent (last year, we recall, prices rose at an average monthly rate of 55.4 percent). It is estimated that this year's social product will be 599.340 billion, but one must also include in it a 20 percent noneconomic drain from the country (which is explained as the aid being sent by the economy and the population to people in parts of the former Yugoslavia affected by war).

In the consolidated balance sheet, the federal state would spend 11.43 percent of the planned 55.8 percent of the thus diminished social product, while 42.06 percent would cover Serbia's needs (where the biggest consumers are the funds for pension and disability, health care, and unemployment insurance), while 2.31 percent would cover Montenegro's needs.

Of the 55.806 billion dinars planned for federal budget spending, the biggest item (70 percent) is the needs of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, so that this outlay, which was once reduced to 4 or 4.5 percent, is now climbing to as high as 8 percent of the social product.

Another 18.5 percent of the federal budget would be earmarked for social intervention (unemployment compensation, humanitarian aid, disability and veterans assistance, and the territories under UN protection). In fact, according to Jovan Zebic, for now this is the only item where positions have not been completely harmonized with the two republics. Although for now every agrees that intervention in agriculture should remain in the republican budgets for some time to come, the assumption of care for workers who have lost work because of the sanctions would require that the federal state begin, as early as 1 April, collecting an excise tax of 49 instead of 40 percent. If deputies in the federal parliament decide not to put the care of this class of unemployed people under the wing of the federal government, then this budget item will be lower, and the excise would continue to be distributed as in the past, 40 percent to the federation and 60 percent to the republics.

Besides these items, which make up the lion's share of the budget, an additional 4.4 percent is earmarked for stimulating development: 642 billion to stimulate exports, 680 for science and technology development, 248 for reinsurance, 25 for costs on the Podgorica-Rozaje railroad line, 160 for bank reorganization, and 538 to service the public debt, into which old foreign-exchange savings would be converted, while 100 billion would be earmarked for a new disbursement—safeguarding air transportation for the duration of the sanctions.

Of the total budget, 5.8 percent would be expended on the operations of federal agencies, covering various expenses from reserves to the funding given the International Press Center or TANJUG, for example.

The federal government predicts that 65 percent of the budget will be covered by real sources (customs duty, taxes and levies, the excise tax...). The budget deficit would be reduced to 35 percent, and would be balanced by credits from the National Bank of Yugoslavia and through new bond issues.

When asked by a journalist how much of the proposed public spending had been planned realistically, Zebic noted that it will not be easy and announced a cutback in federal administration, strict economy measures (which had already been demonstrated to the journalists in the form of the cold conference room), and a reexamination of the rights of budget beneficiaries.

"This will be the supreme law, and whoever cannot fit in with it will have to look for new sources and other solutions," said Jovan Zebic.

'Brain Drain' of Scientists, Researchers

93BA0852A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 93 p 10

[Article by O. Nikolic based on interview with Dr. Vlastimir Matejic, director of the Mihailo Pupin Institute and former federal minister for science: "About 1,000 Engineers Have Left"]

[Text] In late 1992 the Federal Ministry for Science and Technology reported that about 1,000 scientists and researchers in the natural and engineering sciences alone had left, while a preliminary analysis of the Serbian Ministry for Science and Technology showed that 568 highly trained experts (including those with Ph.D.'s and M.A.'s) have left universities, institutes, and corporate research units. Dr. Vlastimir Matejic, director of the Mihailo Pupin Institute, until recently federal minister for science, spoke to BORBA about the phenomenon of the "brain drain."

"All those figures on the drain should be considered estimates, because all the figures can never be gathered," Dr. Matejic explains. "There is no record at all, nor will there be, of some who leave. There are three essential things about 'brain drain': the number of people leaving, the reasons (unless they are commonplace), and the consequences that result from the departure. In our country, when we speak about the people leaving, we often include only those who have scientific titles, who are actively and professionally engaged in scientific work. When I speak about 'brain drain,' I also include teaching assistants, people who work as researchers in institutes, in business firms.... In England, for example, the doctorate is not so common, and if the 'drain' from England were recorded, and its researchers do 'suffer' from departure to the United States, it would turn out that there was no 'brain drain' in that country."

About 1,000 Researchers

The Mihailo Pupin Institute alone, for example, had 70 researchers leave last year. A few of those had a Ph.D., representing about 20 percent of the active researchers in this scientific research organization.

"From what I have been able to see in other institutes, such as Vinca, the Institute for Physics and the Institute for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, my estimate," Dr. Matejic said, "is that last year about 15 percent of the entire research population in the natural and engineering sciences left. Because I calculate that there are at least 6,000 to 7,000 researchers in this field in the FRY or Serbia, the figure of about 1,000 people who have left is quite likely. Because the 'brain drain' hits the institutes hardest, and because they even now, under the conditions of the sanctions, have projects on which they are working, it is in our case that the outflow of people is most noticeable and most felt. Where projects have dropped off greatly, in business firms, which have nothing to do now anyway, the departure of researchers and research potential is seen as a loss of redundant manpower," BORBA's informant explained.

The already recognizable "colonies" of our researchers in several "distinguished" cities confirm that the number of those who have gone out into the "big wide world" is large. The most "overbooked" are three cities in Canada—Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto (in Toronto alone, there are some 20 scientists and researchers from the Pupin Institute). Dr. Matejic sees here an element that tends to intensify the brain drain, "because now the intellectual elite has somewhere to go. Former colleagues will help them to get settled, find an apartment, a job...."

"Both in the Pupin Institute and in other institutes I have heard of many people who already have a ticket to leave half-prepared in their pocket. That is why I am afraid that this year or next the 'drain' could be twice as great as it was last year. It is a complete coincidence [as published] that this year the number of applications to go to Canada doubled between January and March. I am not saying that the situation in Yugoslavia is twice as bad, the reasons need not be twice as strong, but I am saying that the inclination to leave has doubled," Dr. Matejic warns. "That propensity is most accentuated because the people who are leaving do not see a future here in this country; they feel that our overall atmosphere (economic, political, and social) will not straighten out for a long time, especially to meet the expectations of the younger generation."

The Drain Will Continue

However, Dr. Matejic continues, even in a hypothetical situation which we can imagine, if, say: peace were established tomorrow in Bosnia, "I say that the 'brain drain' will continue regardless of who is in power, to the same degree until our society becomes innovative, creative, and challenging, until people see some purpose in staying here," Dr. Matejic believes.

"My long-range forecast is that the 'drain' will lower the domestic competitiveness of the research system, without which it not only stagnates, but suffers degradation. The second consequence is already manifested—the inclination to leave is increasing long before the individual becomes a researcher, when he enrolls in the university, or indeed even earlier, in the last years of high school. There is considerable confidence that those who have left will return. However, everyone is having trouble getting people back. I do not know why we should have an easy time of it. Some people integrate easily into a new population of researchers. Those who would like to come back have a sense of losing if they come back to a less-developed environment, and so they make it conditional upon acquiring a special status. To be sure, a system like that has been applied in China, India, Iraq, but our culture does not allow it. Neither do

the Germans nor French allow it.... Only an immigration of researchers from other cultures and countries could inoculate our research system with a healthy virus."

Popularity of FRY Politicians

93BA0852D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Mar 93 p X

[Article by Nadezda Gace: "The Presidents in Hand-to-Hand Combat"]

[Text] The most popular politicians of the FRY are Dobrica Cosic, Slobodan Milosevic, Momir Bulatovic, Vladislav Jovanovic, and Brana Crncevic. This is the result of evaluations of citizens who were polled and who evaluated 21 relevant political figures. The poll was conducted by STATLAB of the School of Organizational Sciences of Belgrade University exclusively for NEDELJNA BORBA, the fourth in a series done using a telephone sample over the period from 17 to 21 March, affording the possibility of examining the popularity of politicians even by the regions of the electoral units in the last election.

Cosic—A Career on the Line

Dobrica Cosic is ahead of his main competitor, Slobodan Milosevic, by a hair, and this is mainly thanks to Belgrade and Uzice. President Cosic, thanks above all to his reputation as the author of the Serbian golgotha, who for a long time has convincingly been the most popular figure in the Yugoslav political arena, is obviously losing the inclination of the majority. He is not suspected, as a majority of his rivals are, of having participated in deceptions and lies, nor has he been promising the impossible and then by showing his true face evoked an angry disappointment of those who believed in him, thereby experiencing a drop in popularity. No, Cosic has been promising the possible: that he would submit his resignation if the democratic forces do not triumph. He has not submitted his resignation! That, then, must mean that in his judgment the democratic forces are in power in Serbia. His popularity seems to be disappearing because of unfulfilled hopes, and his greater sin has been one rather of omission than of commission.

There is still an echo from the election campaign that Dobrica Cosic abandoned his position of "father of the nation" by joining the traitors to Serbism. Even then, as he was attacked by a gentle satanization, he lost much of his popularity. It is clear today that his attempt to take a "divine position" by supporting those political groups and figures "who supported his program" was an extremely bad idea or a still poorer bluff. He supported changes by supporting those who publicly pledged him support. He expressed his animosity toward the monarchy and rivalry toward friends in the academy in messages that divided the opposition. Instead of a unifier, he became a bone of contention, instead of a leader, a prompter. The plan of crossbreeding Socialists minus Milosevic with Democrats and bringing all this under the banner of Social Democracy was one of which a majority of the people and electorate were not even aware, but at the same time it made Milosevic a direct adversary. The witch-hunt which began at that time has not ceased even today, and only varies in intensity now and again. Even the well-disposed voices being heard on Cosic's behalf, which are coming from intellectual circles and especially from circles around the Academy of Sciences, are not signs that "that Serbia" has forgiven him for having at one time divided it into good and bad, fit and unfit. It is much more likely to be a rebellion of the intellect against the bullying of the neoapparatchiks in the parliament and their leaders.

Power Is Power

By contrast with the writer-politician, Slobodan Milosevic is a politician "through and through." His popularity is not threatened by peace, by war, by hunger, or by crime.... He was the most popular in six of the 10 electoral units. He took second place in one and third place in three.

Milosevic has survived a popularity crisis. The last two surveys, this one and the one in January, show that he is behind his former mentor by a whisker, and that is only because there is a firm core of those who think differently from him and do not have the slightest understanding for his moves and always give him low marks. He convincingly received the largest number of maximum grades—all of 42.8 percent of those polled consider him an ideal politician. However, 14.2 percent consider him completely unfit for politics. At the time when he stood worst in public opinion, he made a number of moves which have now proven to be extremely beneficial. By putting Cosic in the president's office and Panic in that of the prime minister, he bought a needed breather and strengthened his international position. The fact that he left the two of them to their own ambitions and ideas was only the icing on the cake of that operation.

Our people favor authority when it is in power. Bulatovic is still convincingly in third place. According to the comments of those polled, he is shaken more by possible connection to Belgrade's hit scandals: the arrested ministers and Master Jezda, than by his increasingly obvious distance from the policy of "dignity at any price." Along with him here are Vladislav Jovanovic, Nikola Sainovic, Oskar Kovac, and Radivoje Kontic, all four of them judged to be mediocre in assessments that betray indifference. Hardly anyone has a particularly high opinion of them, just as no one singles them out as being particularly bad. For that matter, the bureaucratic elite has altered its composition several times during this survey, but never its position—which has always been high and always indifferent.

Provided He Is Not a Croat

Brana Crncevic, Vojislav Seselj, and the brand-new deputy, Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, also have a favorable position,

but close to the baseline. However, by contrast with the government officials, who are given a shade better grades, they arouse emotions and polarize positions. The three of them have convincingly the highest number of negative marks among all the politicians given a favorable rating, but their number of maximum grades falls short only of the leading presidents.

Belgrade has less liking for the group of patriots, quick in what they say and what they do. Seselj seems to get along particularly poorly with Belgrade. But he is the only one who in one electoral unit—Pristina—managed to beat out Milosevic and Cosic. Not only is he in first place in the "cradle of the Serbian state," but he left the second-place finisher quite far behind him. Among those who like him, there were some who explained their good opinions of Seselj this way: "He is a good man, it would be a shame if he turns out to be a Croat." It is obvious that Momcilo Grubac, former minister, did not help when he made the observation that no one in the FRY has the right to use ethnic origin as the basis for privileges or for denial of any rights. However grotesque the whole story about Vojvoda Vojo's nationality, it has cost him points.

They like Crncevic in Pristina and Smederevo, but he is not liked at all in Uzice and Nis. He gained his popularity through the cumulative effect of the "nephew's messages," his coquettish relationship with the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], and the directorship of the enterprise for redistribution of money to aid refugees. The wave which has drowned two ministers and is causing many other distinguished politicians to sweat has also splashed over Crncevic. His survival at the top of the popularity ladder depends now on how much truth there is in stories that connect him to the scandals or how deep the leader has decided to go in fighting crime. The youngest of this group, Arkan the new parliamentarian, placed less well in his native Belgrade and Montenegro, where there are many Raznjatovices, than in Leskovac, where he was fourth. He was fifth in Novi Sad and sixth in Uzice. It is of interest that Raznjatovic did not do best in Pristina, which is where he ran for office.

The Opposition—With Panic to the Bottom

Milan Panic was undoubtedly a favorite politician until he touched the system of values promoted by official television. Since that time, he has dropped steadily. His failure in the election, in spite of the million and a half votes he received, was the turning point in the popularity of the Serb from the United States. At the time of the election, his popularity was seriously threatened, but after the election he fell first to 17th and then, now, to 19th place in popularity. Even in Belgrade, where for months he was the most favored political figure, Panic did not manage to leave behind more than five of his rivals.

Djindjic, Micunovic, and Kostunica stand well in Belgrade—in second, sixth, and ninth place, which is considerably better than when one looks at their overall placement. The rest of Serbia does not like them. Djindjic fares particularly poorly in Leskovac and Nis, Micunovic in Leskovac and Pristina, and Kostunica in Leskovac and Montenegro.

Peace as the only objective in a time of war broke Panic, especially when he referred to Milosevic and his party as an obstacle to achievement of peace. It is no wonder, then, that Vesna Pesic, leader of the Citizens Alliance of Serbia, is stuck on the bottom in the popularity rankings. She has been insisting on the policy which broke Panic even longer and more firmly than he did. The discrepancy between Vesna Pesic's proclaimed objectives and the TV fairy story about dignity and the lumbago of an entire country which for that reason cannot bend over has as a logical consequence presented to the leader of the Citizens Alliance of Serbia her place at the bottom of the popularity ranking. Only Vuk Draskovic has managed to do worse, which was in Pristina and Leskovac.

Draskovic's popularity curve reached its present level quite some time ago. The growing respect shown abroad to the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] has not improved Draskovic's bad rating in the least. It might even be speculated that this has been held against him.

The opposition, viewed as a whole, is less popular than it has ever been. By contrast with the government, which is standing ever more firmly on its positions, the opposition is shaken by many conflicts and disagreements. The time has come when the government can look with relative calm on the opposition movements without fear of being threatened in the foreseeable future.

The case of Belgrade, where the opposition did win in the central opstinas, is a rare exception. And the survey shows that in Belgrade the oppositionists are more popular than the government and their friends. A Belgrade SAO [Serbian Autonomous Oblast] might be a "promising solution" for the opposition. Because formation of an SAO ultimately means secession, that would mean that the opposition would have a chance of taking power in some state of Serbs. Anything that does not follow that "scenario" leaves the government in the saddle with time and its own incompetence as its only adversary.

Differentiations in Montenegro

Montenegrin politicians have far better ratings in their own Montenegro than in other electoral units. Bulatovic did particularly poorly in Kragujevac, Djukanovic in Pristina, and Marovic in Smederevo.

Within Montenegro, they are aligned somewhat differently than on the space of Yugoslavia as a whole—Marovic, but not Djukanovic, comes after Bulatovic. The Montenegrins are also improving Kontic's rating, but they still are not inclined toward his deputy, Jovanovic, nor his Serbian colleague, Sainovic. Arkan, Seselj, and the leaders of the opposition in Belgrade shift downward only in order to give up their places to the Montenegrins who come after them in the total score.

Bozovic's Road to the Edge

He was never, in fact, a favorite of the public at large, because he always dragged behind him the tag ends of conflicts of some sort in which he did not represent the most likable side. But the inclination of Slobodan Milosevic which he enjoyed, or at least seemed to, and the important posts which he held brought him to the first half of the popularity list in recent months. The scandal of the ministers has been perceived in the public as his scandal. The dilemmas twined about his name and deeds range from the expectation that he will be arrested because of direct complicity in the deceptions of his friends and ministers, to expectation that he will resign because of his poor judgment of the people he chose himself. It was nothing happening and the absence of a determination to clear up all those dilemmas that undoubtedly made the greatest contribution to the greatest decline in a politician's popularity, with the exception, of course, of Panic's fall in January.

No Dilemma About the Worst

The citizens polled were asked to name the three worst politicians, and that was before the pollsters recalled the 21 names on which this poll was focusing. Vuk Draskovic is traditionally the first on that list. Television does not allow its viewers to get their breath between reminders that he is a "CIA agent," "traitor," and "turncoat with a communist pedigree," so that there was no dilemma about the worst. Seselj, who took second place, cannot complain at all about how he is seen by TV Serbia. At the same time, the not exactly favorable image of him that comes from the Belgrade press cannot have traveled very far in view of the miniscule circulation of newspapers in the FRY, so that the views of him are planted very firmly in people's minds. Panic was in third place and Bozovic in fourth. It cannot be said of either that there is any surprise at all that they should have done so poorly. Milosevic is the last of the five worst.

Milosevic is likewise the best politician. It is no wonder that the opposition is unable to beat him on his own ground and threaten his primacy as the favorite, but it is striking that the participants in the poll first have to be reminded of the opposition leaders before they think of giving them a bad rating. When asked to remember bad politicians, only Vuk [whose name means "wolf"], as in the fairy tale, has stuck in people's minds. This is disastrous for the opposition, but some consolation for Draskovic—at least they are afraid of him.

SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Journalist on New Policy

93BA0864B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 p 35

[Interview with Viktor Ivancic, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA journalist and one of the authors of FERAL TRIBJUNA, by B.M.; place and date not given: "'A Proper DALMACIJA'"]

[Text] [B.M.] How did the strike of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA employees come to an end?

[Ivancic] The strike was terminated by the decision of the majority. Among the 100 or so striking journalists, who, it is essential to emphasize, are of differing political convictions and commitments, most in the end nevertheless decided to go back to work. There were also several reasons for that decision, and they range from losing hope to concern about personal livelihood, the fear of getting fired, and so on.

[B.M.] How many journalists of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA bought shares of stock in their newspaper?

[Ivancic] Only 25 percent of the firm's total value went to the workers of Slobodna Dalmacija-Novine, and all the rest, that is, more than 70 percent, went to government funds and banks. So, knowing the structure of Croatian banks, that is also government ownership.

[B.M.] Do you think that the circulation of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA will drop off because of changes in editorial policy?

[Ivancic] The circulation of SLOBODNA ranged between 90,000 and 100,000. The new editors will try to maintain it, without changing the structure of the paper suddenly and overnight. But in two or three months, when goebbelism gets going, we will see what will happen.

[B.M.] Has any Croatian newspaper been allowed independent transformation?

[Ivancic] Yes. NOVI LIST in Rijeka. They had a number of alleviating circumstances, beginning with the fact that the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] was not in power in Rijeka. Second, and more essential, was that they are considered a marginal and regional paper, without any great influence, so that the government did not commit itself too much concerning it. The case was quite the opposite with SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

[B.M.] Does that mean, for example, that the journalists who previously worked on SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, and who today have been denied that collaboration, could continue to work by writing for NOVI LIST?

[Ivancic] An immense number of Croatian journalists, good journalists, are unemployed today. If NOVI LIST were to hire only some of them, I think that it would be beneficial to both sides. That would perhaps be some way out. Now, everything is dead. They have swept things clean.

[B.M.] Will the new SLOBODNA DALMACIJA include FERAL TRIBJUNA?

[Ivancic] No.

Serbia

Karadzic Interviewed on Further Sanctions

AU1704195093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, by Belgrade RTB announcer Milos Markovic in the S Kanal studio in Pale—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Markovic] Mr. Karadzic, at the London Conference Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic offered observer missions to all units on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serbian side from this republic accepted this proposal. President Milosevic yesterday repeated this proposal to General Wahlgren [commander of UN Protection Force for former Yugoslavia], which was accepted and you also accepted it. Why did nothing come of it today?

[Karadzic] Simply because the international community does not care about the truth. What you said about President Milosevic and the London Conference is correct. We gave our consent on that occasion and again two or three days ago. We are sending a letter to President Clinton today in which we are repeating our proposal that UN observers be deployed at each headquarters and each unit along the front line, with a direct telephone line to their colleagues on the opposite side to facilitate control and maintenance of the cease-fire. This will probably not happen as the Muslim side probably will not endorse it, although the Croatian side would have probably accepted it because it seems to us that the Croats are ready to sign for peace. The Muslim side would not give up hope of regaining all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, and that is precisely why they embarked on major battles against the Croats in central Bosnia.

We will repeat this proposal and not bear further responsibility for the rejection of a peaceful proposal that could lead to peace.

[Markovic] Mr. Karadzic, we all know very well that the Muslim side has always been preparing the international community for condemnation of the Serbs in the face of all important conferences and decisions. Let us just remember the massacre on Vaso Miskin Street [people killed by shelling while standing in Sarajevo bread line] and similar incidents. Does the present coverage in the international media perhaps suggest some significant events and decisions for the near future?

[Karadzic] Judging by everything that is developing in the world with the assistance of the international media, it seems to us that a limited attack against the Serbian positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina is probably being prepared, or perhaps sanctions against Serbia. This absolutely cannot be avoided, except by committing a collective suicide, surrendering, or fleeing all our historic territories in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are sure that the governments know the truth. We are sure that their military headquarters know the truth. We are sure that their secret services know the truth. No one cares about about the truth, however. We are convinced that the media know the truth too, but the editors simply refuse to hear it. I contacted Sky News Television today when I saw that lies were being spread, and they were happy and content to have commentary from the Serbian side. They said today that they will contact us in the course of the day during one of the full hourly newscasts in order to hear the real truth from the Serb side. They did not contact us, however. We are very sorry, but it is also clear to us that Sky News did not wish to convey the truth. They wanted to create the impression that blood is flowing through the streets of Srebrenica, that bodies of civilians are lying in Srebrenica. They simply wanted to create a catastrophic and cataclysmic image that should, in our opinion, justify something—either further escalation of war or perhaps sanctions against Serbia.

[Markovic] Thank you, Mr. Karadzic.

U.S. Senate Delegation Meets Serbian Officials

LD1804223393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1805 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Pristina, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—In talks with their hosts in Pristina today, members of a U.S. Senate delegation, headed by Senator Dennis DeConcini, demanded the same things as representatives of Albanian separatist groups.

Giving pieces of, as they called it, friendly advice to their hosts—Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Zoran Arandjelovic, Federal Minister for Human and Minorities Rights Margit Savovic, and the head of the Kosovo district, Milos Simovic—they requested that "a meeting of the Albanian parliament, the opening of an Albanian university and the consolidation of the two groups living there" should be allowed.

If this does not happen, they expressed, as they said, fear that the international community will take it in a very negative way.

The American delegation, which first held talks behind closed doors in the seat of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova] with representatives of Albanian political parties, was interested in whether the Serbian authorities will release from prison Rector Statovci, as they called him.

Answering this question, Zoran Arandjelovic said that Ejup Statovci had never been elected rector of Pristina University, adding that after serving his sentence of 60 days in prison, passed on the charges of instigating unrest, he will be released.

I am very unhappy that current talks are taking place at the time when, with no reason, new sanctions against Serbia and Yugoslavia have been approved, Arandjelovic said. He warned that human and other rights of

the children of Yugoslavia have also been threatened since, as a result of the sanctions, they could not receive medical help, although the sanctions should not affect the import of medicine and food.

Arandjelovic stressed that there is no possibility for holding an "assembly of the Republic of Kosovo" and went on to say that last year only three incidents had been recorded: One when a soldier was attacked and the other two in which militia patrols were ambushed.

Arandjelovic warned the U.S. delegation that it had been supplied with incorrect information and suggested that the delegation stay in Kosovo for a whole month as the government's guest to acquaint itself with the actual situation.

Margit Savovic, federal minister for human and national minorities rights, said that no other country in the world had a ministry for this particular issue and that human rights in Yugoslavia are under threat, but from the international community, which had put restrictions on the right to work, to movement and to communications.

She asked why it is that unlike other national minorities, the Albanians alone do not wish to take advantage of their rights. She noted that the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo represents autonomy not just for the Hungarians or Albanians but for all other citizens living there.

Simovic asked why the Albanians are now asking for the degree of autonomy they had under the 1974 Constitution, which did not seem to stop them from becoming notorious for their unrest.

Russian Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives

LD1904000193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 18 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—An official delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation arrived in Belgrade this evening and paid a visit to the Economic Chamber of Serbia immediately upon its arrival.

On this occasion, Yevgeniy Arsakovich Ambartsumov, head of the Russian delegation, stressed that it was "very symbolic that the resolution to tighten sanctions against Serbia and Yugoslavia was adopted by the United Nations on a very important Orthodox holiday—Easter."

Delegation member Sergey Aleksandrovich Glotov drew attention to the fact that, following an aggression by the Croatian Army against the territory of Serb Krajina protected by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], Russia had called for sanctions to be imposed against this former Yugoslav republic as well. Since this has not been done, it is right to ask why the sanctions against Serbia and Yugoslavia have been tightened, Glotov said.

Vlajko Stojiljkovic, president of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, stressed that the main objective of talks this evening was to advance the traditionally good economic cooperation between Serbia and the Russian Federation.

The decision to tighten the sanctions, despite the fact that neither Serbia nor Montenegro were at war and the fact that they had shown a large amount of goodwill in the efforts to resolve the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, was interpreted by Stojiljkovic as a desire by some great powers to prolong rather than to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Accusations against only one—and in this case, the Serb—side at a time when UN documents speak about an interethnic and civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina amount to a collective punishment of only one nation, Stojiljkovic said.

This provides no guarantee that the efforts to establish peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina will be at all productive. Such steps will instead lead to an escalation of the conflict for which the Serb side can no longer be held responsible, the president of Serbian economic chamber said during his talks with the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Examination of Seselj's Origin 'Absurd'

93BA0849A Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by Slavoljub Scekic: "Who Is the Serb of Croatian Origin?"]

[Text] The saying about flying high and falling low, it seems, is becoming something more than that in the case of political exponents who use base methods to further the thesis of a people chosen by heaven. What happens to Vojislav Seselj, Chetnik vojvoda, leader of the Serbian Radicals, one of the "highest-quality Serbs" (concerning the method of Ostoja Sibincic, who was referred to in that way when he did the ethnic cleansing in Hrtkovci and renamed the village Srbislavci), is at the very center of the media's attention in spite of the daily arrests of ministers, the fugitive Jezdimir Vasiljevic, and the extremities broken in front of Dafina Milanovic's tellers' windows.

It began almost harmlessly. Two years ago, MLADINA of Slovenia said that Seselj was a Slovene. He, of course, denied that, explaining that his roots go back to Seslije in Herzegovina. The fact that the unrestrained Seselj is defending himself against some accusation, because his strongest weapon with the public was mainly to accept them, at least silently, escaped the notice of the propaganda headquarters of the opposition parties at the time, specifically the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO]. Seselj then never denied the story that he had boasted that it was best to cut the throat of Croats with a rusty spoon, because then they die of tetanus, and the autopsy shows little. Before the cameras, he has even clarified

rumors about there being a crematorium almost seriously and in detail: "It is true, every day we burn as many as 500 Ustashi, depending on how it goes."

The Police Are Investigating Nationality

With his arrogance, his lack of restraint, and ability to look a fact boldly in the eye and say that it does not exist, along with his talent for rejoinders and ability to convince the masses even when he is not right at all, Seselj has become a real nightmare for segments of the opposition. They have tried to get a jump ahead of him, but in vain; they have never been able to find his weak point. And then pure chance gave it to them.

Two reporters of Serbian Television from Pale were arrested and in Split fell into the hands of the investigating judge, a certain Seselj. Branislav Canak, president of the Independent (Nezavisni) Trade Union of Journalists, asked Seselj to intercede for the captured colleagues with his relative in view of his "Croatian origin." Momcilo Grubac, minister for the rights of minorities at the time, showed, perhaps unwittingly, how the leader of the Radicals should be dealt with thereafter when he publicly protested the questions about Seselj's ethnic origin and defended his right to be a Croat. And then a certain Ante Seselj turned up in the Croatia public because of the pain of having the same last name as the leader of the Serbian Radicals. He publicly renounced his famous relative, saying that that was the only Seselj family which had converted to Orthodoxy, allegedly in order to make use of some church estate.

That was the signal for the Serbian Renewal Movement to attempt a showdown with Seselj and to do so by attacking him and defending him at the same time—on the field where the leader of the Radicals has always been the strongest. The reference is, of course, to nationalism.

They started out with what are referred to as parliamentary means, and Aleksandar Taskovic, SPO deputy, called for an inquiry into Seselj's ethnic origin, because this was a man who had achieved everything by beating the drum concerning his own Serbism and Serbian behavior. Vuk Draskovic, chief of the Serbian Renewal Movement, publicly reproached the insubordinate deputy, defending Vojislav Seselj's right to be a Croat: "We were aware even earlier of Vojo's Croatian origin. He did not hide it, and it certainly did not bother us."

For the first time, Seselj proved vulnerable to the extent that at one point he even pulled the deputy caucus of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] out of the Serbian Assembly, demanding that the Historical Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the police investigate his origin. By all appearances, that will in fact happen, and Seselj's opponents are already rising up with new accusations: What kind of Serb is it who needs a certificate from the police that he is a Serb? The president of the Radical Party has in the meantime given up the line of argument that his origins go back to Seslije, because Taskovic has already refuted that. The most recent assertion is that his last name comes from Rovci. The reference is even made to certain books in this connection.

The Serbian Renewal Movement has no intention of letting up on Seselj, and that same Taskovic has called upon the government and Assembly to take away his passport so that he does not flee to Croatia. Then came accusations to the effect that Seselj is being paid by Tudjman, that he palled around with a certain Aleksej Dolgoruki, who has appropriated a dozen other last names, boasting of his dynastic origin, from the Nemanjices and Romanovs among others. Photographs were obtained of Aleksej, Seselj, and a certain Marija Zelen-Maksa, who at one time boasted that as Tudjman's adviser she had arranged a loan from the Vatican to the president of Croatia of $3 billion. In the version of the SPO, Seselj is a foreign (Tudjman's) mercenary, who is supposed in his actions to defame the Serbs as much as possible, representing them as butchers, tramps, and bullies. Taskovic recalled the rusty spoon, the crematorium, and other "boastful" statements of the Chetnik vojvoda.

Krst ["cross" in Serbian] or Kriz ["cross" in Croatian]?

Even heraldry was dragged in among the evidence of the SPO. It is asserted that Seselj became a member of the Catholic Order of Maltese Knights and is a recipient of the alleged Order of Saint John. Heraldry experts, however, say that this is not the Order of Saint John, but the Zvonimir Cross established by Ante Pavelic in 1941. How does the SPO come to know all this? It seems that the prince "with many last names" took over Seselj from them, because before that Borivoje Borovic, at that time vice president of the SPO, had had dealings with him; as a lawyer of the alleged descendant of the Romanovs, he had filed a claim for treasure deposited in the vaults of the JIKB [Yugoslav Investment an Credit Bank]. Seselj had a still more original idea with this prince: to get the head of Prince Lazar from Turkey and join it to the body, so that, as the legend foresaw, things for the Serbs would take a turn for the better. Both were silent after church authorities announced that the head was in the same place as the body and had been since the unfortunate prince was killed.

It thus became all mixed up and intertwined. The public is awaiting further moves with interest. The questions being asked about Vojislav Seselj's ethnic origin in a country where under the Constitution are all equal is being given two possible explanations. According to one, the revengeful, "what goes around has come around," so let him see how it has been for those whom he has threatened with expulsion, saying that he would fill buses with them and expel them to Croatia or who knows where. The other interpretation would be, as everything indicates, that we are headed for a sobering up because the nationalistic madness has become so absurd. Thus, the best-quality Serb has become a Croat (or of Croatian origin). Incidentally, Ostoja Sibincic, whom we have

mentioned, the other day experienced real pain in Hrtkovci, his apartment was demolished, his automobile was bombed, and he was threatened. It seems by dissatisfied Serbs, perhaps even "quality Serbs."

There is, however, also a third possibility to the effect that nothing is ended by a proof of nonsense, but is only beginning in a way characteristic of these parts. That kind of continuation, unfortunately, is being announced by both sides. Acknowledgment of the personal threat to the figures in the entire story, at the same time, should not be taken merely as an addition to the general folklore. Nor, incidentally, the fact that there will be others threatened.

Plans for New Sandzak Political Status

93BA0852E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 93 p 10

[Article by S. Bakracevic: "New Forms of Muslim Political Organization"]

[Text] Novi Pazar, 24 Mar—During the entire last month of the Muslim fast—the period of Ramadan, special "Ramadan" pocket bread has been the best-selling product in Novi Pazar; it relieved the heavy burden of the bread shortage and the baker's dilemma about whether it paid to bake it with expensive flour. Both Serbs and Muslims have been buying the Ramadan pocket bread. Until a few years ago, a story about brotherhood and unity and the unseverable threads linking together the peoples who live here might have been composed on the basis of the aromatic pocket bread. Certain other winds are blowing now.

In one of the many meetings of his party, Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], repeated an interesting anecdote. A merchant in the market in Novi Pazar is said to have been asked how come he had notebooks from Turkey? "If God grants, by year's end we will even have books," the merchant replied. Smuggled notebooks, after all, perhaps have nothing much to do with our ever more heated political situation (except perhaps the economic situation), but the SDA leaders are doing their best to travel as successfully as possible the road to "their own" books from Turkey, or from wherever. Three years ago, the "scientific" pearls from the promotional meetings of the SDA for Sandzak could have been translated into jokes.

"We are of neither Serbian nor Croatian origin, we are autochthonous," the new Muslim leaders have been thundering in stadiums and have been citing the "scientific" evidence that the Muslims were here long before the Serbs and Croats. Sometimes the "facts" are so reversed that the "autochthonous" Muslims here took up Islam before Mohammed did.

And in later meetings, Rizah Gruda, at that time a deputy, was telling (a year ago) Muslim intellectuals to write the history of the Muslim people so that Muslim children would not learn only the history of their occupiers. The thesis of the Sandzak having been occupied by Serbia 80 years ago, that is, in the Balkan wars, is repeated here rather often. And this year, Rizah Gruda, already an alleged minister of education in the so-called government of Sandzak, is leading several hundred Muslim university students to Turkey from "occupied" Sandzak.

"Anadolija is not a desert, but an oasis from which all the Sandzak giants came," Gruda proudly announced a few days ago in a similar gathering at which the "discovery" was Sait Kacapor, who is from Novi Pazar and teaches at Pristina University, who said that unprecedented assimilation of Muslims has been conducted through the schools, so that that professor would not be surprised to hear soon that "the horse was being shoed in the moonlight by Radovan" instead of Mujo.

The curriculum in the "Serbian" schools attended by Muslim children, Kacapor believes, has been altogether cleansed of everything Muslim, so that they study the Muslim creators less than the Albanians in Kosovo study theirs. Kacapor even made a list of higher educational institutions which ought to be opened in the cities of Sandzak, and if the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro do not allow it, he will appeal to UNESCO for help, so that they can go to school on their native ground. After all, Kacapor sees the basis for that demand in the fact that the Muslims have been building this country for 50 years. He does not confine himself to the sphere of science, and says that if anything happens to another of his fellow Muslims, this people must organize itself, must defend itself.

Perhaps the force of Kacapor's appeal for self-organization might be diminished by the fact that this is a layman concerning military matters, but Alija Mahmutovic, alleged minister of religion in the "Sandzak government" recently convinced believers in Sjenica that it would be a good thing if Sulejman Ugljanin began to carry out a plan to create a Muslim army.

This is a detail in Ugljanin's conception of a Sandzak with a special status. The Muslim National Council, that is, was long ago proclaimed the only legitimate representative of the Muslim people. The public has been told that there also exists a "government of Sandzak," a shadow government to be sure, but with "ministers," whose identity and "portfolio" are gradually being learned. There is also the cultural society of Muslims, Preporod [Rebirth], with stronger political than cultural color. Recently, Matica Muslimanska was formed with a stamp which indicates that it will be active in the field of newspapers, publishing, printing, commerce, and importing and exporting. And that cultural organization is organizing a "conference of intellectuals of Sandzak, Kosovo, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia." At that meeting, a certain Imam Sabahudin said that "Allah does not say that all men are brothers, but that all Muslims are brothers." The Muslim intelligentsia gathered there applauded him for a long time.

The month of Ramadan is over, and so they will stop baking the aromatic pocket bread. Is it possible that their undisputed taste might tie together the many things that have been severed in the Sandzak region?

Reasons for Charges Against Seselj Examined

93BA0849B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 pp 28-29

[Article by Milan Jajcinovic: "Is Seselj an Agent or a Woman?"]

[Text] "Do you know who I am? Do you know how many people I have killed for the fatherland?"

"No, I do not. I have not killed a single one, but I will begin with you. I will strangle you with my bare hands."

That is how the conversation went recently in the Serbian Assembly between the two Serbian supermen: Arkan and Seselj. In the extremely brief meantime, the "great Vojo" has traveled the road from the favorite son of the regime to "Tudjman's spy," so that soon Arkan or someone similar might threaten him himself with his own threat, i.e., that he will strangle him "in the name of the fatherland." After all: "No one has ever planted in the Serbian people such an anti-Serb as Vojislav Seselj!" That is the accusation lodged some 10 days ago against the Herzegovinian from Orahov Do in the Belgrade International Press Center by Mihailo Markovic. He read to the gathered journalists a letter which Dr. Aleksandar Taskovic, DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] deputy on the slate of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], had sent to the president of the Assembly and the Serbian prime minister. Taskovic was demanding that they take away Seselj's passport (!?) "because he had committed the crime of treason against the Republic of Serbia," and because of "indications that he is preparing to flee, probably to Croatia"!?

A Croatian Mole in the Serbian Trench

Why such a turnabout toward the person who until recently was the favorite of the regime, who until recently was an exemplary Serb? This Dr. Taskovic accuses Seselj of being a Croatian agent, of being a mole in the Serbian political trench! Taskovic says that there is proof that Seselj "has been working for President Tudjman of Croatia," that he is a Croatian mercenary, that it is on orders from Zagreb that he has been representing Serbs as butchers and monsters, and that for that reason "foreign propaganda has been referring less to Tudjman in satanizing Serbs than to Tudjman's man in Belgrade," who "is saying that the Serbs are butchering people with rusty forks, that the Serbs are burning people in crematoriums," who is "publicly preaching ethnic cleansing," and "calling for execution of children born in mixed marriages." What is more, Taskovic and Markovic, his medium, have told the public that the "red vojvoda" is calling all "the most intelligent heads in Serbia" traitors, calling for their execution, and thus "encouraging civil war in Serbia."

In just a few years, Vojislav Seselj has described a very strange circle in his life. From a Bosnian fugitive and "strange bedfellow," by way of Milosevic's lethal right hand, to "traitor to Serbism." Few people could have suspected that the former stale teaching assistant in the School of Political Science at Sarajevo University, known for his communist rigidity, a Yugoslav above nationalities, would in time become a hard-bitten Serb, almost the very standard of Serbism. For a long time, Bosnia was proud of this party hard-liner with the Bosnian stamp as "the youngest doctor of sciences." The young Ph.D. enjoyed for a long time his importance, the atmosphere of that importance which was created around him. But in time the idyll of comfort and the neighborhood became boring for him, and he decided to become a Bosnian dissident. Which is why he made the trip to Belgrade, to the "Belgrade liberals"—led by Dobrica Cosic and Ljubomir Tadic—who represented him as a political exile, portrayed him as the victim of Bosnian dogmatists, and finally, with his consent (because he judged that this was the most promising and profitable), completely formed his political image and made him their oracle, the exemplary Serb.

Janus Is Dead

For a long time, Seselj was out of bounds and politically offsides, then he gradually became Milosevic's spokesman, his court jester, a political harlequin who said what Milosevic was silent about. Once the hardest Communist, he became an Orthodox Chetnik. He and Milosevic became the personification of Janus, each representing one of his faces. Now that symbiosis has come to an end. Janus is dead. Serbian politics again has its prime figure in the singular—Slobodan Milosevic. It obviously became too hot for him under the Herzegovinian mask. It threatened that his "pretty face" would be forgotten. Seselj threatened to become a greater Serb than Milosevic with his crude radicalism. And is there anything more baneful for Milosevic than to question his position? Guardians of Milosevic's "name and works" knew what they had to do. First, they accused the neo-Chetnik of being a Croat, and then a Croatian spy as well! Are there today any greater slanders or more serious accusations for a hard-bitten Serb?

The accusation of Seselj is based on the principle—the more absurd it is, the more likely it is. It is also improbable, the idea is, that it must be true. But like every great slander, this one is also established with a grain of salt. Seselj was first proclaimed a turncoat Serb, a crypto-Croat, and only then quite logically "Tudjman's agent." Is Seselj really a Croat in origin, that is, a Johnny-come-lately Serb? He is and he is not. Seselj comes from the Trebinje region. And that entire region was Catholic up until the end of the 17th century. Then the entire Trebinje Bishopric converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy. The persecution of Catholics ended with the conversion to Orthodoxy. Krunoslav Draganovic and Father Dominik Mandic say (in "Herceg-Bosnia and Croatia") that back in 1627, for example, Bishop Andrijasevic wrote that seven of the 12 Catholic

churches in Popovo Polje had gotten into the hands of the Orthodox. And these are not the only accounts of conversion in Seselj's region. It is quite possible that Seselj's ancestors did convert to Orthodoxy.

Blonds and Brunettes

If we get into "racist" analysis, then one can find certain other indications casting doubt on Seselj's Serbian purity. That is, at one time (between the two world wars) Weissbach, Gluck, and Filipesco did an anthropological study of members of various faiths in Bosnia and Herzegovina and found that Catholics and Muslims were mostly of the lighter type, while the Orthodox leaned more toward swarthiness. According to research at that time, 48 percent of the Orthodox belonged to the dark type, while the Catholics and Muslims had 11 percent fewer. Only 6 percent of the Orthodox were blond! And Seselj is blond. But that does not, of course, prevent him from feeling himself to be a Serb, and not just any Serb, but the greatest Serb. Draganovic and Father Mandic even say literally that after the conversion "the people of Trebinje and Popovo Polje, for example, are today among the most enthusiastic Serbs in Herceg-Bosnia just as they would have been fiery Croats if they had remained in the Catholic faith."

To tell Seselj today that he is a Croat is probably the greatest insult both to him and to Croats. Now his Serbism is being denied him, just as in the time of his political disfavor in Belgrade they denied his masculinity. Is there a greater offense to a mega-Serb and Dinarid macho-man (which Seselj claims to be) than to hear that he is neither a Serb nor masculine, but a Croat and "feminine," and Vojka [the feminine equivalent of his nickname Vojo]? And, what is more, a Croatian spy. Taskovic and Markovic, figuring as Milosevic's verbal gunslingers, find the indictment for Seselj's political execution in the excursion he made last year to Madrid and his meeting with Aleksej Dolgoruki, to whom he offered the Serbian crown at that time. And separately in an alleged meeting with a mysterious lady—Mirjana Zelen-Maksa. Now, a year later (?!) (why not earlier?), Serbs are being told that Seselj should be kicked in the behind as a political degenerate and cast out of Serbian politics!

The Prince Who "Messed His Pants"

It is imputed to Seselj that back last year, in Madrid at that, he "discovered" that there is a second pretender to the Serbian throne—Aleksandar Karadjordjevic (of whom Seselj had before that made public that he "messed his pants" during a visit to the "fatherland" because of the greasy and hot Serbian food), that the prince is a "Roman Catholic," and that he is a member of the Catholic Order of Maltese Knights. Seselj said at the time, alluding to the Brazilian origin of the prince's wife, that he would not allow Indians to become claimants to the royal crown of Serbia. But that is not being mentioned now. But he is being reproached with having offered the crown to the mysterious Dolgoruki, "whose last name is false," and who supposedly was born in Zadar, and that right during a meeting with Seselj he paraded in front of the "naive Serbian journalists wearing what was said to be the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem." Tankosic [Taskovic (?)] says this was actually the Zvonimir Cross, an order with which Ante Pavelic had decorated him.

Tankosic christened Seselj the "good pupil" of the mysterious Mrs. Zelen-Maksa. This lady is otherwise known as one of the figures in the Croatian political faux pas when the news was released that she had arranged for Croatia a loan of $3 million in aid from the Vatican, which threatened to grow into a political scandal. Seselj's picture with this lady—who, it is said, was his connection with the "Nemanjic" Dolgoruki, is now being used as evidence that it is through Mrs. Zelen-Maksa that he has connections with the Croatian Government, that he is actually "Tudjman's agent." Seselj's arrest in Slavonia at one time is presented in support of such assertions. The fact that the confused Croatian police released him at that time is now being proclaimed unusual, because the doctor of nationwide defense and social self-protection "was taken into custody and released the same day by the Croatian authorities." It is strange that they do not state as "evidence" of similar weight that at the same time he was a member of the Croatian Sociology Society, in order to completely round out his "Croatian activity."

The next accusation against the self-proclaimed Chetnik Seselj might be that he is actually an Ustasha. An Ustasha who only pretends to be a great Serb. In the Serbian media and the public to which they feed their products, for a long time there has been no greater Serb than Seselj. Now, obviously, the big boss wants to get rid of him. He has felt that he might threaten him in his exemplary Serbian behavior. Milosevic needed Seselj so long as the crudeness, roughness, and fascistoid aspect of his policy showed that compared to him Milosevic is a "Serbian Ghandi." But Seselj obviously did not know when to stop, and he began to do the "great leader" disservice with his political sloppiness. What is still worse, he began to threaten his charisma, his untouchable leadership status. And then it is unimportant whether someone is a Balkan macho or "woman." But it is desirable for him to be "Tudjman's agent" or an "Ustasha."

Montenegro

Montenegro Minister: No One Proposed Secession

93BA0852C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 9

[Interview with Miodrag Lekic, Montenegrin foreign minister, by Dragoljub Vukovic; place and date not given: "Miodrag Lekic: 'No One Has Proposed Secession To Us'"]

[Text] We have seen that the international community does respect the reality of Montenegro. That is, we have been pleasantly surprised that the leading countries of the EC have a high opinion of our efforts to democratize

internal relations in Montenegro, of the influence which Montenegro is giving in that direction to the democratic transformation of the federation, and also of our efforts in favor of possible elements of reintegration of the former Yugoslav region, Miodrag Lekic, Montenegrin foreign minister, emphasized in an interview with BORBA.

[Vukovic] Do the visits to Paris, London, and Rome which you and President Bulatovic arranged last week suggest a more active role of Montenegro at the diplomatic level?

[Lekic] The recent visits, I would say, confirm a more active role of Montenegro at the diplomatic level. The real political, economic, and social situation makes it incumbent upon us to take the initiative still more. We do not have the right to take a passive attitude toward the dramatic problems with which we are living. We are rightly expected to be mobile and responsible in seeking solutions to get out of the crisis.

I suppose there is no need to recall that Montenegro's successful diplomacy, which arose during historic troubles, is a part of its rich tradition as a state. So, Montenegro is not beginning diplomatic activity, it is continuing it.

[Vukovic] Does this offset the shortcomings of federal diplomacy, or does Podgorica want to step out of Belgrade's shadow when it comes to relations with the international community?

[Lekic] Montenegro is a member of the federation which expresses its own specific interests, under the Constitution, at the international level as elsewhere. If at times our international approach, as you say, offsets the shortcomings not of federal diplomacy, but of certain protagonists at the federal level who are attempting to make up for their lack of personal responsibility with an excess of patriotism, then that kind of compensation is in the interest of the Yugoslav community.

[Vukovic] What can Montenegrin diplomacy do in the interest of the FRY, and what can it do for itself?

[Lekic] I would have nothing to add to the statement of the president of Montenegro when he replied to a similar question that everything that is in the interest of Montenegro, and is not harmful to Serbia, is in the interest of the FRY. We are, of course, fighting for particular interests of Montenegro, but also sincerely striving in international contacts for those to whom we talked to understand the complexity of the so-called Serbian question, which obviously has not been sufficiently understood. We are also attempting to persuade those to whom we talked to try to build a democratic, federal, and peaceful FRY.

[Vukovic] How do you interpret the more favorable attitude of the international environment toward Montenegro? Is someone trying to entice Montenegro to secede?

[Lekic] Even surrounded by war, Montenegro has achieved relative political equilibrium, a tolerant climate in relations among political parties, a pluralistic government, a relationship of coexistence between the majority nationality and the minorities, and a clear attitude of cooperation and integration with Muslims and Albanians. The policy of an open door to refugees has continued, and we are ready to help people in trouble, regardless of nationality. This policy, which incidentally is being conducted in a context of economic disaster—if not something worse—caused by the sanctions, we have realized, the international community would like to encourage and reinforce. Humanitarian aid, access to the world, suggestions of a relaxation of the sanctions, these are specific forms of the attitude of the international community toward Montenegro at this moment.

Incidentally, no one has proposed secession to us. First, we do not have the impression that at this point there is some obsession in the international community that Montenegro should be separated from Serbia. Incidentally, even if such an interest existed, it is clear to everyone that only the Montenegrin people can decide its destiny by democratically expressing its will. That is why our diplomatic activities should not be associated with that. For that matter, when the president and foreign minister of Serbia conduct international affairs of state in the interest of their people, we do not interpret that here as commencement of Serbia's secession from Montenegro.

I repeat, the conduct of a government policy in Podgorica in the interest of the Montenegrin people is our legitimate right and obligation, and an expression of the government's respect for the citizens of Montenegro.

[Vukovic] President Bulatovic and you also used your recent visit to European capitals to promote the idea of the necessity of reintegration of the space of the former Yugoslavia. Is it wise to be thinking about something like that before national borders are established in this region and before the new states that have arisen recognize one another?

[Lekic] There is a risk of everything sounding utopistic if the idea is taken literally, especially as a restoration of the status quo ante bellum. However, this idea should be seriously taken into account for quite pragmatic reasons as well. We were too closely connected on the territory of the former Yugoslavia to be able to stabilize in sovereign states without maintaining certain mutual relations. For example, it does not square with elementary logic, nor for that reason with the solution, to insist on a conventional border between Bosnia and Serbia—what is more, with international forces, say, from France and Nigeria—that divides the Serbs in Bosnia from the Serbs in

Serbia, and on the other side the existence of a similar border separating the Croats in Croatia from the Croats in Bosnia. Certain elements of linkage, at least of the broadest and loosest, are the only directions for realistic stabilization and normalization of relations with the region of the former Yugoslavia. The international community, the EC in particular, we believe, will promote this process because it is realistic.

Through federal institutions and separately as a federal unit, Montenegro will contribute to the attempt to narrow the gaps which have been created in traditional Yugoslav space. We will contribute to a process that would facilitate creation first of tolerable relations and then, insofar as is possible, establishment of new relations of cooperation; in other words, a process that will not allow changes in international status to sever all links in the economy, transportation, culture, and many other fields that were built over decades of life together. Montenegro wants and is offering to be a bridge in that kind of process that has been initiated. We want to believe that the international community will support such a process.

[Vukovic] Mr. Gligorov, president of Macedonia, however, has said in an interview with EL PAIS of Madrid that he is afraid of a Balkan 100-year war.

[Lekic] I have spoken about a possible favorable scenario, but I have no illusion about the negative one being impossible—and that is a third Balkan war or fifth in this century in the Balkans. Perhaps the chances of the two scenarios are equal. The basic dilemma is this: Should we start with cooperation or conflict? There is no third way. It is up to all of us and also to the international community to take responsibility for the future development of events. Montenegro has expounded its position.

[Box, p 9]

Relations With Jovanovic

[Vukovic] In Montenegro, that is, in the incumbent party, the choice of Vladislav Jovanovic as federal foreign minister was not received with joy. Does this make it more difficult for you as republic minister to cooperate with the federal Foreign Ministry?

[Lekic] My cooperation with the federal Foreign Ministry is not made more difficult by Mr. Jovanovic's selection as foreign minister.

Assistance to Federal Diplomacy

[Vukovic] President Bulatovic has expressed a fear that your diplomatic mission will be seen as a betrayal, and so he distanced himself preventively. Was suspicion of you and President Bulatovic shown in Yugoslav diplomatic missions in Paris, London, and Rome?

[Lekic] I assume that it is a question of caution and political courtesy on the part of President Bulatovic, all of it in order to avoid possible malicious comments. I personally feel no need for excessive caution toward those who quite unjustly are trying to stand guard over Montenegro's individuality and thereby, perhaps unwittingly, threaten the historical relations of the two peoples.

I did not feel suspicion on the part of our diplomatic missions during the recent visit. On the contrary, they had good reason to be content, because together with us they reached institutions and individuals who under present conditions they have unfortunately not been able to reach on their own.

Church Official Against Secession of Montenegro

93BA0852B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 93 p 5

[Article by N. Todorovic based on interview with Metropolitan Amfilohije of Montenegro and the Coast: "Montenegro's Secession Is the Road to Fratricide"]

[Text] I do not believe that there can be a separation of Montenegro from Serbia. That would cause a worse fratricidal war than we have had up to now, and the perpetual enemies of our people would be given an occasion to carry out their plans, says Metropolitan Amfilohije of Montenegro and the Coast, observing that "Montenegro, along with the other regions, is in ferment, in the midst of a spiritual and political search."

Pressures are coming from abroad for that kind of separation, the metropolitan says. "I hear there have been rich offers, bribes. The enemy is using certain structures to pursue its age-old desires, but that separation would have the same success as the government of Sekula Drljevic during World War II, which lasted five or six days. That example itself shows that secession is not the way for Montenegro. I am deeply convinced that the people would not allow anything like that."

The metropolitan sees the present suffering of the Serbian people as a continuation of those in the past and as something imposed by the so-called New Order. "Victory will go to the innocently crucified, both in the Serbian and also in the other peoples. We have to persist, because no so-called New Order can be built on lies, and this new one is actually the old rotten order."

That New Order is still more dangerous to the future than all the utopias up to now: the bourgeois revolution, the inquisition, Nazism, and communism, the metropolitan believes. "In large part, it includes Nazism and communism among its methods in the way that Orwell saw it. Big Brother, who wants to turn people into a herd, has now emerged."

What is happening in the world now is a universal question, the metropolitan says, asking: "What kind of democracy can the United States and the European Community talk about when their methods are bribery and violence?" "First, they thrust a people into bloodshed, and then they distribute humanitarian aid, at the

same time threatening destruction and proclaiming one people to be guilty because it does not accept such methods."

If this world has a future, the metropolitan believes, that future begins with those areas that have suffered most in the 20th century—the Orthodox area. "The Orthodox world is slowly coming awake, emerging from its age-old suffering, from the spiritual and economic devastation. I am convinced that it will stand on its feet, and this will be a spiritual and moral renewal."

It is strange how in their blindness our people do not see the demonic powers that have risen up over the world, the metropolitan mentioned, and said that in Australia at least, where he was until a few days ago celebrating the "Five Centuries of the Cetinje Octoechos," the situation is nevertheless better. "The Serbs are more in agreement there than here, although the old differences are still present, but much less pronounced. This has been achieved primarily by overcoming the long years of the split in the church and because of this disaster of war, which has united them."

Commenting on current church affairs on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the metropolitan said, concerning the so-called Croatian Orthodox Church, that he is not surprised by that initiative "from the community which started the present war." "That is an idea from World War II, but nothing built on lies and terror has a future."

Stepinac is an extremely fascinating figure who will be talked about and discussed quite a bit even in the future, the metropolitan said concerning the process of beatification (canonization) of Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac, the first part of which (the bearing of witness) was recently completed. "It is a typical product of the conservative Roman Catholic spirit, the spirit of Roman expansionism."

The figure of Stepinac is organically linked to the Independent State of Croatia [NDH]; he is the spokesman of that state in all his being and the means available, the metropolitan said, judging that the policy of the NDH was accepted in the Roman Catholic Church. "This was a movement in the Roman Catholic Church, a dark page in the history of that church. The spiritual conversion went hand in hand with physical genocide."

The metropolitan believes that the purpose of Stepinac's beatification is "sacralization of their first independent state." "This is hard to understand. I do not know what future a people ready to sacralize something like that is preparing for itself."

Kosovo

Rugova Urges Security Council To Discuss Kosovo

AU1704175593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Apr 93

[Text] Repression, repression, and only repression—that is how the situation in Kosovo can be explained, Republic of Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova said at the beginning of yesterday's news conference, referring to an ATA report.

Rugova said that pursuit of the new Kosovo assembly deputies and the activists from Albanian political parties continues. The Serbian police suppressed the annual assembly of the Kosovo Parliamentary Party, which convened last week. The dismissal from work of those few Albanians who are still employed and the eviction of Albanians from their homes continues. Albanians are being threatened with all kinds of weapons, and new threats, in the form of bombs placed in yards around schools and homes, have appeared.

The imprisonment of Prishtina University Rector Ejup Statoci has annoyed the entire population of Kosovo. Meanwhile, in keeping with the established practices of the Serbian regime, reporter Blerim Shala was imprisoned for a second time. Rugova assessed the Serbian justice minister's statement that Kosovo assembly deputies can be sentenced to as much as 15 years of imprisonment as a threat aimed at evicting the new deputies from Kosovo.

Considering the increased violence, Rugova called once again on the UN Security Council to put the Kosovo issue on its agenda as soon as possible.

Serbs Prevent Swedish Delegation From Visiting

AU1904101093 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 19 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 19 (ATA)—The Serbian authorities are continuing their efforts to prevent the international commitment to the question of Kosovo, preventing even visits of foreign delegations. Hence, a parliamentary delegation of Sweden was not allowed by the Serbian authorities to have its planned visit in Kosovo. The same happened also with a delegation from the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate.

The Serbian authorities in Pristine imprisoned recently members of the French humanitarian organization 'Equilibri,' who after released were ordered to leave Kosovo immediately. They in the Serbian Parliament raised the question why were the U.S. congressmen allowed to stay in Kosovo.

Through their stand, the Serbian authorities are insisting in a solution through force instead of a democratic and peaceful solution through dialogue, to which the Albanians and the international community are committed.

Rugova Sees 'Parallel Society' for Albanians

PM1504122893 London THE EUROPEAN in English 15-18 Apr 93 p 8

[Andrea di Robilant report from Kosovo: "Quiet Revolt Under the Oppressor's Nose"]

[Text] In the green house at the end of the dirt road, Ibrahim Rugova ended the weekly meeting of the Democratic League of Kosovo by holding up a type-written leaflet.

"This is a very strange documents," he said. "We must find out more about it."

During the night thousands of similar leaflets, calling on Kosovo's Albanian population to take up arms against the Serb minority, had been stuck on walls and slipped under doors all over town and in every village.

The appeal was signed by an Albanian organisation nobody in the room had ever heard of. "This looks very much like the work of the Serbian police," Rugova added. "They want to cause an incident that will justify a full-scale military intervention in Kosovo."

So far, the sideshow in this small region inhabited by two million Albanians and 200,000 Serbs has not attracted the international attention accorded to Bosnia or Croatia, because the level of violence has been low. But the tension that has been building over the past two years, as the Serbs have tightened their military grip on the region, could explode at any time with unpredictable effects on the entire Balkan area.

Rugova, 48, a literary critic and former student of Roland Barthes, who likes to quote Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, was elected president of Kosovo in clandestine elections held a year ago among the Albanian population. He has advocated non-violent resistance to the Serbs' de facto occupation of Kosovo.

So far he has held to his policy but he is under pressure from the more radical elements in the resistance movement.

"As the Serbs turn the screws the likelihood of someone losing his nerve is increasing. But we have no arms; it would be suicidal to take on the Serbs," he explains.

Tito granted Kosovo special status in 1974. After his death the Serbs began to erode that autonomy and when the former Yugoslavia collapsed in 1990, Belgrade annexed Kosovo and rescinded its constitution.

Rugova is determined that Kosovo becomes an international protectorate on the way to full independence. A return to its past autonomy is impossible. "It was one thing to be autonomous in a big federation like Yugoslavia," he explains wrily, "and quite another to be autonomous in a federation made up by Serbia and Montenegro."

An independent Kosovo is anathema to Serbs who argue, vehemently, that the region is the cradle of Serbian civilisation. They aim to incorporate it into a greater Serbia, even though Albanians have been the dominant ethnic group in the region since the Serbs were defeated by the Turks in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389.

Turkey, back in the Balkan game, has vowed to assist Kosovo's Muslims if there is a full-scale Serbian intervention. Italy, with its strong ties to Albania, has also warned Serbia to stay clear of Kosovo.

The Serbs have reinforced their occupation of Kosovo with up to 40,000 crack troops. They work closely with the police and the private militia of warlord Zeljko Raznjatovic—the infamous Arkan—as reported exclusively last month by The European.

Kosovo's economy is being forcibly integrated into the Serbian economy, and a majority of Albanians workers, up to 200,000, have been sacked since 1990. Albanian judges have been replaced by Serbs. Schools and universities are off limits to the local population. Kosovo's television station and the only Albanian language newspaper, Rilindja, have been shut down.

Up to 350,000 Albanians are thought to have emigrated to Germany and other northern European countries in the past two years, often helped by the unscrupulous travel agencies that have sprouted along Pristina's main street.

Rugova says the Serbs are carrying out "a quiet policy of ethnic cleansing" that is attracting little international attention.

But the Albanian population is quietly fighting back. Hundreds of schools have been started in private houses, for children from primary age through to 18. A rudimentary health system has been set up in shops closed by the Serbs. Most families in Kosovo have at least one member working in northern Europe and they scrape by on the few Deutsche Marks sent from abroad. Basic food and medical supplies are provided to the neediest by a local humanitarian organisation.

Even Kosovo's sporting life has been preserved, somehow, with football league games and boxing matches in the fields beyond Pristina. Concerts, held in private homes, keep up some sort of cultural activity.

"Our success in developing a parallel society for Albanians in Kosovo has been much greater than what even the most optimistic among us expected," says Rugova. "And today this success represents the main argument in favour of continuing our policy of non-violent resistance."